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EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS IN INDIA

EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS IN INDIA

BY
JAMES TALBOYS WHELLER
&
MICHAEL MACMILLAN

First Series

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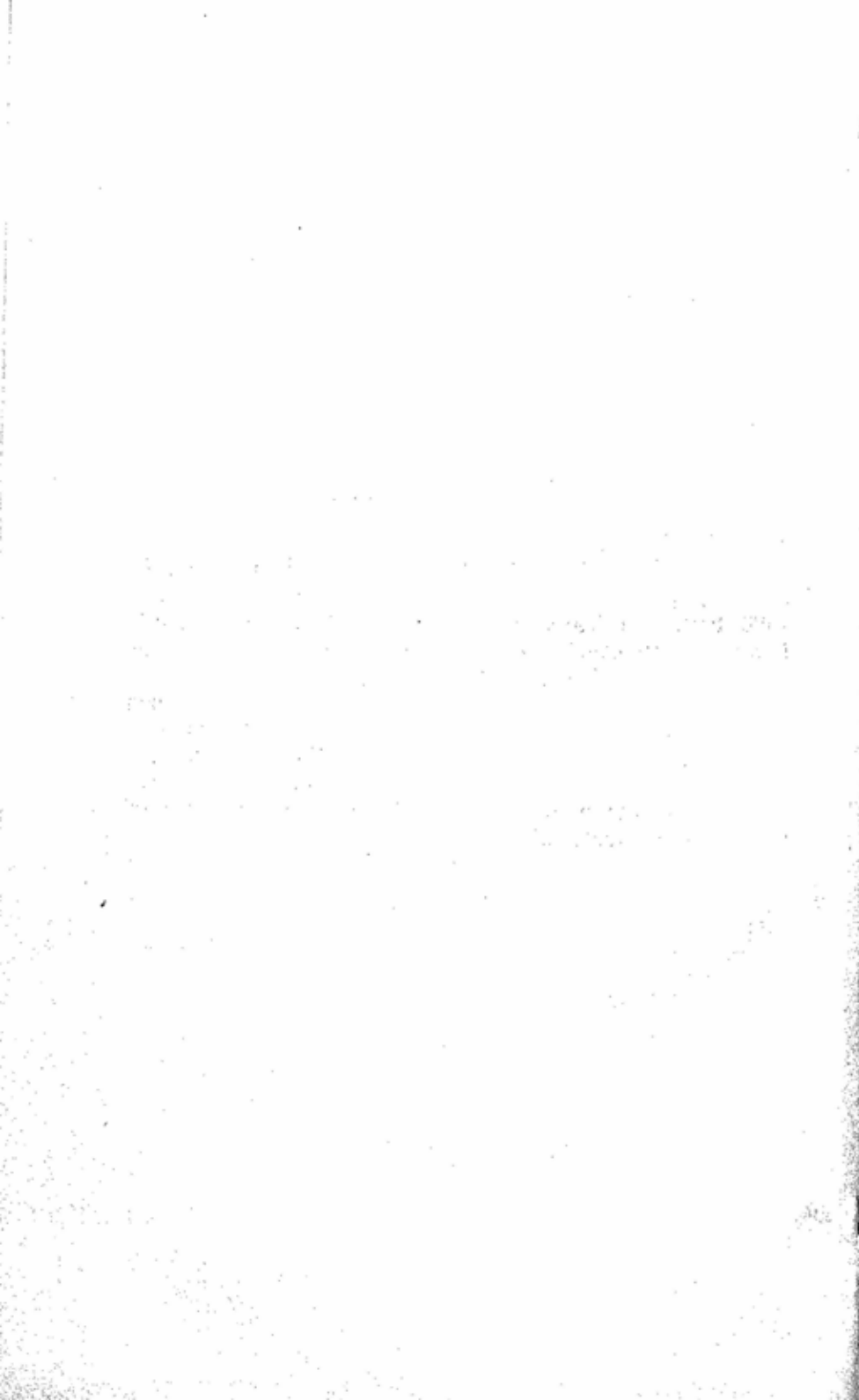
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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

The following pages contain extracts drawn from three well-known works—*The History of India*, Vol. IV, Part II, London, 1881; *Tales of Indian History*, 6th edition, Calcutta, 1890, both by J. Talboys Wheeler, and *The Globe Trotter in India Two Hundred Years Ago and other Indian Studies* by M. Macmillan, London, 1895—and deals with the experiences of some famous European travellers in India such as Terry, Della Valle, Tavernier, Thevenot, Fryer, Hamilton, Niebuhr, Hawkins, Sir Thomas Roe, and Gamellie Careri.

These eye-witnesses record in these pages their experiences and describe the manners and civilisation of the people of India in the seventeenth century.



EVIDENCE OF EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS

There have been eye-witnesses in India who tell less of current history, and more about the distinctive manners and civilisation of the people. They belong to different nationalities, professions, and religions. Terry was a Protestant clergyman of the Church of England; Della Valle was a Catholic gentleman belonging to a noble family of Rome; Tavernier was a French jeweller; Thevenot was a French gentleman; Fryer was an English surgeon educated at Cambridge; Alexander Hamilton was a ship's captain; and Karstens Niebuhr was a distinguished German. All these men looked at India from different points of view. Moreover, they were separated from each other by intervals of time sufficiently near to enable them to confirm the truth of each other's story, and sufficiently remote to impart a historical significance to their respective narratives.¹ It may, therefore, be as well to review the evidence of each one in turn. It will then be found that their united testimony supplies the background of the picture which has hitherto been wanting to Mughal history.

TERRY, 1615-18: ABUNDANCE OF PROVISIONS

REV. TERRY travelled in India between 1615 and 1618 as chaplain to the embassy of Sir Thomas Roe.² Like a healthy young English divine, he was charmed with the abundance and cheapness of good provisions in Hindusthan. The country, he says, produces wheat, rice, barley, and various other grains, all good and exceedingly cheap. The bread is whiter than that made in England, but the common people have a coarser grain, which they make up in broad cakes and bake on small round iron hearths. The people churn butter, which is soft in that hot climate, but otherwise sweet and good. They have a great number of cows, sheep, goats, and buffaloes. There is no lack of venison of various kinds, such as red deer, fallow deer, elk, and antelope. They are not kept in parks, for the whole empire is as it were a forest for the deer, and as they are every man's game, they do not multiply enough to do much harm to the corn. There is great store of hares, wild and tame fowl, and abundance of hens, geese, ducks, pigeons, turtle-doves, partridges, peacocks, and quails. They

¹ Terry and Della Valle travelled in India during the reign of Jehangir; Tavernier in the reign of Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb; Thevenot and Fryer in the reign of Aurangzeb; Hamilton during the decline of the Mughal empire; and Niebuhr about twenty-five years after the invasion of Nadir Shah.

² Terry's *Voyage to the East Indies*, 18mo, 1655. Reprinted, 8vo, 1777.

have also numerous varieties of fish. By reason of this plenty, and because many Indians abstain from eating anything that has life, flesh and fish are to be bought at very easy rates, as if they were not worth the valuing.

TRADE AND MANUFACTURES

The most important staples of the Mughal empire were indigo, which was manufactured in vats; and cotton wool, which was made into calicoes. There was also a good supply of silk, which was made into velvets, satins, and taffaties, but the best of them were not so good as those made in Italy. The English sold a few of their woollen cloths in India, but they bought most of the Indian commodities in hard silver. Many silver streams were thus running into India, whilst it was regarded as a crime to carry any quantity away.³

CIVILITY OF THE PEOPLE

Terry dwells, however, at some length on the annoyances of Indian beasts of prey, crocodiles, scorpions, flies, musquitoes, and chinchies. He describes the people of India as very civil unless they were affronted. When Sir Thomas Roe first arrived at Surat, his English cook got drunk at some Armenian wine-dealer's. In this pot-valiant condition he met a grandee who was the brother of the Nawab of Surat. The grandee was on horseback, and accompanied by a number of retainers; yet the drunken cook called him a heathen dog, and struck at him with a sword, and was arrested by the retainers and put into prison. Roe wrote to the Nawab of Surat to say that he would not patronise any disorderly person, and accordingly left the Englishman to be punished as the Mughal authorities might think fit. Presently, however, the drunken cook was restored to his master, without having received any punishment at all.⁴

JOURNEY FROM SURAT TO MANDU

Terry, accompanied by four Englishmen and twenty Indians, proceeded, with six waggons laden with presents for Jehangir, from Surat to Mandu, a journey of about four hundred miles. At night-time, the party halted outside some large town or village, arranging their waggons in a ring, and pitching their huts within the circle. They kept watch in turns, but they were accompanied by a servant of the Viceroy of Gujarat; ³ The Mughals had an instinctive objection to the exportation of silver. It was equally forbidden by the Mughal sovereigns of Hindusthan and the kings of Burma.

⁴ The Mughal authorities were always polite to English visitors so long as those visitors were polite and courteous in return. But the lower orders of Englishmen, then as now, were too often insolent and arrogant towards Indian authorities. Roe, as will be seen, behaved like a gentleman.

and whenever there was any suspicion of danger, this servant procured a company of horsemen as a guard. As it happened, however, the journey was accomplished without a single encounter.

SETTLEMENT OF A DISPUTE

At one place the inhabitants persisted in guarding them all night, although told they were not wanted. Next morning they demanded payment, and being refused, three hundred men came out and stopped the waggons. One of the Englishmen prepared to fire his musket; and the men themselves began to bend their bows. At this moment it was discovered that a gift equal to three shillings sterling would satisfy the whole three hundred. The money was accordingly paid, and the men went away quite contented.

RASH ENGLISHMAN

On another occasion, a hot-headed young gentleman from England gave some trouble. He had arrogantly ordered the servant of the Viceroy of Gujarat to hold his horse, and the man had refused to do his bidding. Accordingly, the rash English youth laid his horse-whip about the man's shoulders, and fired a pistol, tearing the man's coat and bruising his knuckles. The offender was soon disarmed and the servant was propitiated with a rupee and a promise of more money on reaching Mandu. The servant seemed satisfied at the time, and it was thought that the whole thing was forgotten. Ten hours afterwards, however, an Indian grandee passed by with a large train, and the servant complained to the great man of the treatment he had received. The grandee said that the English were in the wrong, but that it was no business of his, and so went his way. That same night the English party halted near a large town, and the servant complained to the inhabitants. Many of the people came out of the town and looked at the strangers, but did nothing. All the English kept watch that night to guard against any surprise from the towns-people; but next morning the servant was quieted with a little money and many good words, and nothing more was heard of the matter.

HILL ROBBERS; TRUSTWORTHY GUARDS

There were, however, mountains and forests in part of the country between Surat and Mandu which were infested by robbers, and travellers often hired stout daring men, such as Beluchis, Pathans, or Rajputs, as guards. These men were so trustworthy that they were always ready to die in defence of the property they were engaged to protect. Terry said that

an English merchant might have travelled alone under such a guard from Surat to Lahore with a treasure of gold and jewels; and so long as the men received their fair wages, not one would have touched a penny of it. Terry doubted if an Indian merchant could have done the same in England without being robbed and murdered. Terry, it will be remembered, flourished in the reign of James the First.

FAITHFULNESS OF SERVANTS

The faithfulness of servants in India was said to be very remarkable. Their pay, equal to five shillings a month, was given them every new moon, but they always required a month's pay in advance. One of the camel-leaders in Terry's party received his pay regularly for two months, but at the end of the third month was told to wait a day or two, when a fresh supply of cash would come to hand. The man was offended at the delay, and took a solemn farewell of his camel, and then went away and was never seen again.⁵ The other servants stayed with the party, and were paid within the specified time.

POWER OF THE GREAT MUGHAL

Terry furnishes some particulars respecting the Great Moghal and the general administration of the country, which are valuable as expressions of contemporary opinion. The Great Moghal, he says, is an overgrown power in respect to the vast extent of his territories. He is like a huge pike in a great pond that preys upon all his neighbours. Consequently, the Indian princes outside his dominions purchase his forbearance by large presents and homage, and by a submissive acknowledgment of his mighty power.⁶ He is master of unknown treasures, and can command what number of men he pleases. His armies consist of incredible multitudes, but the officers are not learned in the art of war, and they are in need of skilful captains and commanders.

ABSENCE OF WRITTEN LAWS

There were no laws to regulate justice but what were written in the breasts of the Moghal and his Viceroys. The governors often proceeded as they pleased in punishing the offender rather than the offence: men's persons more than their crimes.

DIVERSITIES IN CAPITAL PUNISHMENTS

Murder and theft were punished with death, and with that kind of death which the judge pleased to impose. Some malefactors were hanged, some were beheaded, some were

⁵ Terry can scarcely have told this story as a proof of the faithfulness of Indian servants.

⁶ Terry is probably alluding to the Rajput Rajas.

impaled, some were torn to pieces by wild beasts, some were killed by elephants, and some were stung to death by snakes.⁷

FREQUENT TRANSFERS OF VICEROYS

The Mughal never suffered any one of his Viceroys to tarry long in one government. After one year, he generally removed them elsewhere, so that none might become too popular or powerful in any particular province.

KOTWALS AND KAZIS

The Mughal and his Viceroys adjudicated all cases of life and death. There were officers to assist them, who were known as Kotwals; and it was the business of the Kotwal to arrest offenders and bring them before the judge. There were other judges, known as Kazis, but they only meddled with contracts, debts, and other civil matters. The Kotwal arrested both debtors and sureties, and brought them before the Kazi; and if the debt was not satisfied, both debtors and sureties were imprisoned and fettered, or sold into slavery, together with their wives and children.⁸

PIETRO DELLA VALLE, 1623-25

PIETRO DELLA VALLE was a noble Italian from Rome, and a Roman Catholic by birth, education, and conviction. He had no taste for trade or profit of any kind; on the contrary, he looked down with contempt on the Portuguese in India, who affected to be soldiers and gentlemen, whilst their daily lives were absorbed in the pursuit of gain. Della Valle visited India out of an intelligent curiosity, begotten of the learning of the time, to discover any affinities that might exist between the religion of Egypt and that of India. He had previously travelled in Turkey and Persia, and had lost a dearly beloved wife. In India he found a change of scene, but he could not throw off the melancholy which often tinges his narrative.⁹

⁷ Terry was writing in the reign of Jehangir. It will be seen hereafter that Aurangzeb reserved to himself the right of passing sentence on all capital cases.

⁸ This barbarous custom prevailed in all Mughal countries.

⁹ *Della Valle's Travels in the East Indies*. English translation, folio. London, 1665. Della Valle was born in 1586, and set out on his travels in 1614, when he was twenty-eight years of age. He landed at Surat in 1623, when he was thirty-seven years of age. The story of his marriage is a forgotten romance. At Bagdad he had fallen in love with a young Maronite lady, whom he calls Madame Maani. He married Maani, and she accompanied him during his subsequent travels through Kurdistan and Persia. In his letters to his friends in Italy, he describes her as a model of beauty, accomplishments, and virtue. She died in Persia in 1621, and the bereaved husband had her body embalmed, and carried it with him during his subsequent travels in India. In 1626, five years after her death, her remains were buried in the Chapel of St. Paul with great pomp and ceremony; and Della

SURAT: DUTCH AND ENGLISH FACTORIES: HATRED
OF THE PORTUGUESE

Della Valle landed at Surat, on the western coast of India, in February 1623. The port belonged to the Mughals, and was already the resort of European traders, especially Dutch and English. Both Dutch and English had factories at Surat, and thence carried on a trade with Persia on one side, and the Eastern Archipelago on the other. At this period neither Madras, Bombay, nor Calcutta had any existence. Farther south, half-way between Surat and Cape Comorin, the Portuguese had a city and territory at Goa; and Goa had been the capital of the Portuguese empire in the East, and the residence of a Portuguese Viceroy, for more than a century. The Portuguese were Catholics, and hated both the English and the Dutch as heretics in religion and rivals in the Eastern trade. On the other hand, both English and Dutch were equally bitter against the Portuguese, not only as Papists, but as claiming to hold, by some dubious grant from the Pope, a monopoly of all the trade to the eastward.

SIGNORA MARIUCCIA. POLITENESS OF MUGHAL
CUSTOM-HOUSE OFFICERS

Della Valle was accompanied on his voyage to Surat by a young girl named Signora Mariuccia, who had been brought up in his family from infancy, and seems to have been a favourite of his deceased wife. The custom-house officials at Surat had been rude to Sir Thomas Roe and Mandelslo; and even Della Valle complained of the strictness with which they examined every article of baggage; but they behaved like gentlemen towards the Signora. They required to be informed of her quality, and ordered that she should be politely treated and protected from any violence or disorder. Meanwhile, a certain Donna Lucia, the wife of one of the most eminent Dutchmen at Surat, sent a coach to bring away the Signora, and accommodate her in her own house.¹⁰

DUTCH MARRIAGES

At this period the English in India were all bachelors, or living as bachelors; for those who had been married in England were strictly prohibited by the laws of the East India Company from having their wives out in India. The Dutch, however, were mostly married men living with their wives. Originally

Valle pronounced a funeral oration, expressing his intention of being laid in the same place that their two souls might rise together at the last day.

¹⁰ This young girl is frequently mentioned by Della Valle in subsequent parts of his travels, under the more familiar name of Mariam Tinitin.

the Dutch had been under the same restrictions as the English, but they had recently planted a colony in Java under the name of New Batavia, and great privileges had been offered to every Dutchman who married a wife and settled in Java. Accordingly, all unmarried Dutchmen in Surat were bent on finding wives, as one of the necessary conditions of a trading life in the East. In the absence of European women, they married Armenians, Syrians, and even Hindus; in fact, a Dutchman was ready to marry a wife belonging to any class or nationality, provided only that she was a Christian or would become a Christian. Della Valle states, and there is no reason to discredit him, that sometimes a Dutchman bought a female slave in the bazar, and required her to become a Christian, in order to marry her at once and carry her off to Java.

ADVENTURES OF DONNA LUCIA, THE CATHOLIC CAPTIVE

Donna Lucia, who took charge of the young Signora Mariuccia, had been the heroine of a strange adventure. It was the custom of the king of Portugal to send a number of well-born orphan girls every year to Goa, with sufficient dowries to procure them husbands in Portuguese India. Donna Lucia was one of three Portuguese orphan girls of good family who had been sent to India the previous year. The fleet which carried them was attacked by the Dutch, who captured some of the ships, and carried off the three damsels to Surat. Being passably handsome, the most eminent merchants in Surat were anxious to marry them. All three became Protestants, and were provided with Protestant husbands. Two had gone off with their husbands to Java or elsewhere, but Donna Lucia had married the wealthiest Dutchman at Surat and remained there. Della Valle found, however, to his great joy, that Donna Lucia was only a Protestant in name. She had been obliged to conform publicly to the Protestant "heresy," but was a Catholic in private, with the knowledge and connivance of her Protestant husband.

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION OF JEHANGIR

At the time of Della Valle's visit to Surat the Mughal rule was tolerant in the extreme. The Emperor Jehangir was a Musalman, but not a pure one; and Christians, Hindus, and people of all religions were allowed to live as they pleased, and in what style they pleased. The president of the English factory and the commendator of the Dutch factory went abroad with the same state as Mughal grandees, accompanied by music and streamers, and a train of Indian servants armed with bows and arrows, and swords and bucklers. Such

weapons were not necessary for protection, but were part of the pomp which was affected by every great man in India.

INDIAN SERVANTS AND SLAVES

Indian servants, says Della Valle, cost very little in India; three rupees a month was the regular rate of wages in the best families. There were also numerous slaves, who cost less; they were clad in cottons, which were very cheap, and lived on rice and fish, which were very plentiful.

CURIOSITY OF DELLA VALLE AS REGARDS THE HINDUS

Della Valle was not interested in the Muhammadans. He had seen enough of them during his previous travels in Turkey and Persia. He was, however, anxious to see as much as possible of the Hindus, especially as they were allowed to practise all their religious rites at Surat, excepting that of widow-burning or Sati. He adds, however, that the Nawab of Surat might, if he thought proper, permit a widow to burn herself alive with her deceased husband; but this permission could only be obtained by bribes. Della Valle saw a marriage procession of two boy-bridegrooms and two girl-brides, but there was nothing in it beyond the usual pomp of music and streamers.

WORSHIP OF PARVATI IN THE FORM OF A TREE

Della Valle witnessed a religious rite in Surat which is not often described by travellers.¹¹ He saw the worship of Parvati, the wife of Siva, in the form of a tree. A circle was carved on the trunk of the tree, to represent the face of the goddess. It was painted flesh colour, and decorated around with flowers and leaves of betel, which were often renewed. It was set about with eyes of gold and silver, the gifts of pious votaries, who had been cured of diseases of the eye. Overhead was a great bell, and this bell was rung, not to summon the worshippers to devotion, but to call upon the goddess to listen to their prayers.¹²

FORMS OF WORSHIP

When the worshippers had rung the bells, they joined their hands in the attitude of prayer. They next stretched their hands down to the ground, and then slowly raised them to

11 The worship of trees is universal in India, and the religious rites described by Della Valle are precisely those that may still be seen. The worship of trees and rivers finds expression in the Ramayana (see Wheeler's *History of India*, vol. ii.). The worship of a mountain is described in the legends of Krishna (see Wheeler's *History*, vol. i.).

12 This idea of bells is essentially Oriental. A great bell was hung up in like manner in the palaces of Hindu Rajas, and even in the palace of the Great Mughal, and was rung by petitioners to induce the sovereign to listen to their complaints.

their lips, and finally extended them as high as possible over their heads. Some said their prayers standing; others prostrated themselves on the earth, or touched the ground with their foreheads, and performed other acts of humility. Next they walked one or more times round the tree, and sprinkled the idol with rice, oil, milk, and other like offerings. But there was no sprinkling of blood. Indeed the slaughter of animals, even for sacrifice, was regarded as a mortal sin. Some gave alms to the priest who attended upon the idol; in return they were presented with a portion of the flowers and leaves of betel which surrounded the idol. They kissed these flowers and leaves with great devotion, and placed them on their heads in token of reverence.

CHAPEL FOR HEALING BARREN WOMEN

Beside the tree was a little chapel with a narrow window which served for entrance. Barren women entered that chapel, and some time afterwards found themselves with child. This result was ascribed to the presence of priests within the chapel.

REBELLION OF SHAH JEHAN AT AGRA

Della Valle stayed only a few days at Surat. He was anxious to go to Cambay, about eighty miles to the northward, where the Hindus were more numerous. The times were troubled. Shah Jehan, the eldest son of Jehangir, was in open rebellion against his father, and marching an army towards Agra. On the eve of Della Valle's departure from Surat, news arrived from Agra that Jehangir had sent Asof Khan to Agra to remove the imperial treasures before Shah Jehan should arrive there.¹³

HOSPITAL FOR BIRDS AND MICE

Della Valle made the journey from Surat to Cambay in four days, and lodged at the house of the Dutch merchants, who treated him with great hospitality. The strangest things to be seen at Cambay were the hospitals for sick and lame animals. The Hindus maintained these hospitals because they believed in the transmigration of the soul after death, and imagined that tending sick animals was equivalent to tending the souls of departed men. Della Valle visited a hospital for lame or diseased birds of all kinds, wild and domestic. Those which recovered were set at liberty: the wild ones flew away; the domestic ones were given to some pious person to keep in his own house. In the same hospital were certain orphan mice without sire or dam. An old man with a white beard,

¹³ This incident has already been related in Wheeler's *History* in dealing with the reign of Jehangir. There are several authorities for the same story. Della Valle, however, fixes the date, 1623.

and spectacles on his nose, kept the mice in a box with cotton wool, and gave them milk with a bird's feather.

HOSPITAL FOR GOATS, SHEEP, AND COWS

Della Valle also visited a hospital of goats and sheep; some were sick or lame; others had been redeemed from Muhammadan butchers by the payment of ransom. There was another hospital of cows and calves; some had broken legs; others were old, infirm, or very lean. A Muhammadan thief, who had been deprived of his hands, was also maintained in the same hospital.

COW-KILLING PROHIBITED BY THE MUGHALS

No ransom was paid for the redemption of cows or calves, as the Hindus of Cambay had prevailed on the Mughal with a large sum of money to prohibit the slaughter of those animals under heavy penalties. If any man, Muhammadan or otherwise, slaughtered a cow or calf at Cambay, he was in danger of losing his life.

HINDU YOGIS

In the neighbourhood of Cambay, Della Valle saw a troop of naked Yogis, smeared with ashes, earth, and colours. They were sitting on the ground in a circle, making a ring round their Archimandrita or leader. This man was held in the highest respect for holiness, not only by the Yogis, but by the common people. Many grave persons went and made low reverences to him, kissed his hands, and stood in a humble posture before him; whilst he affected a strange scorn of all worldly things, and scarcely deigned to speak to those that came to honour him. The Yogis lived upon alms, and despised clothes and riches. They feigned to lead lives of celibacy, but were known to commit debaucheries. They formed societies under the obedience of their superiors, but otherwise wandered about the world without having any settled abode. Their habitations were the fields, the streets, the porches, the courts of temples, and under the trees, especially where any idol was worshipped. They underwent with the utmost patience the rigour of the night air or the excessive heat of the midday sun. They had spiritual exercises, and some pretensions to learning; but Della Valle discovered that their so-called wisdom chiefly consisted in arts of divination, secrets of herbs, and other natural things; also in magic and enchantments, to which they were much addicted, and by means of which they boasted of doing great wonders.

SACK AND OUTRAGE AT AGRA BY SHAH JEHAN

In March 1623 Della Valle returned to Surat. Further news

had been received from Agra. Shah Jehan had taken and sacked the city, but failed to capture the fortress which contained the imperial treasure. Fearful barbarities had been committed by the rebel prince and his soldiery. The citizens of Agra had been put to the torture to force them to discover their secret hoards. Many ladies of quality had been outraged and mangled. Meanwhile Jehangir suspected that Asof Khan was implicated in the rebellion, and placed him in close custody. It was reported that Jehangir was marching an army very slowly towards Agra.

PROPOSED VOYAGE TO GOA

Della Valle next proposed going to Goa, the famous capital of Portuguese India. Goa was nearly four hundred miles to the south of Surat. The distance was too great for a land journey, whilst the voyage was dangerous on account of the Malabar pirates that infested those waters. At last Della Valle arranged to undertake the voyage in the company of a large Portuguese convoy.

STORY OF GALAL, THE CONVERTED MUSALMAN

At starting there was a domestic difficulty. Della Valle had taken a Muhammadan boy into his service in Persia, named Galal, and induced him to become a Christian. On arriving at Surat, Galal ignored his conversion, and declared himself a Musalman. At first Della Valle thought the boy was acting through fear of the Mughal authorities; but soon had reason to suspect him of an intention of returning to the religion of the Koran. The custom-house officials interfered, and refused to allow Galal to accompany his Christian master to a Christian country like Goa, where he might be perverted from the religion of the Prophet. Della Valle was so angry that he threatened the boy with death if he ventured to turn Musalman. On this Galal was so frightened at the prospect that he resolved to remain a Christian; and he accordingly managed to escape from Surat, and eventually accompanied his master to Goa.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND OF GOA

Della Valle left Surat on the 24th of March 1623, and reached Goa on the 8th of April. The city was the metropolis of all the Portuguese possessions in the East. It was seated on one of the numerous islands off the western coast, which were formed by rivers that separated them from the mainland. It was built on the innermost side of the island, facing the continent; but the whole island, especially near the bank of

the river, was adorned with towns and country-houses, in the midst of groves of palm trees and delightful gardens. The island was nearly environed by a wall, especially on the land side, and the gates were continually guarded. This was necessary to repel the attacks of Mahratta and Muhammadan neighbours, and to prevent the outlet of thieves or slaves, who might otherwise escape over the river into the dominions of the Muhammadan Sultan of Bijapur. On the sea side such precautions were unnecessary. Here there were numerous islets and peninsulas belonging to the Portuguese, which were occupied by towns and numerous churches.

CITY OF GOA: NUMEROUS CHURCHES AND PRIESTS

Della Valle entered the river of Goa from the north side. As he reached the inmost recess he saw the city stretched out on his right hand. It was built partly upon a plain, and partly on pleasant hills; and from the tops of these hills there was a charming prospect of the whole island and the sea beyond. The buildings were good, large, and convenient. They were contrived, for the most part, to receive the breezes and fresh air which moderated the extreme heats. The churches were the finest buildings in Goa. Many were held by religious orders, such as Augustines, Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Jesuits. Indeed, there were too many priests at Goa; half the number would have sufficed for a much larger city. Besides the religious orders, there were many secular priests, parishes, and chapels, and, lastly, the cathedral.

POVERTY AND PRIDE OF THE PORTUGUESE

The Indian inhabitants of Goa were numerous but the most part were slaves. They were a dark generation, ill clad, and a disparagement to the city. The Portuguese were few in number, and had much declined of late years. They used to be rich, but had lost their wealth through the incursions of the Dutch and English, and become very poor. In outward appearance they still lived in some splendour, for the country was very plentiful, and they made a show of all they had. But in secret they suffered great hardships. They were all desirous of being accounted gentlemen; and rather than submit to mechanical employments, they underwent much distress, and even went out begging in the evening. They all professed arms, and claimed to be considered as soldiers, the married as well as the single. Few, except priests and doctors of law and physic, were seen without a sword. Even the artificers and meanest plebeians carried swords and wore silk clothes.

SIGNIFICANT SQUEAMISHNESS

Della Valle found the Portuguese singularly squeamish. He was accompanied by the young girl, Mariam Tinitin, who had been brought up in his house from a little child, and was always treated as his own daughter; but the Portuguese of Goa held it to be contrary to good manners that the two should be dwelling in the same house. Della Valle accordingly placed Mariam Tinitin in the charge of a Portuguese gentlewoman; but he could not help remarking on the depravity which was often to be found amongst near relations at Goa, and which rendered such precautions necessary to prevent public scandal.¹⁴ As regards Della Valle, however, his feelings were destined to undergo an extraordinary change. The story has already been told of his burying his beloved wife with great pomp at Rome, and delivered an oration over her remains. Subsequently he married Mariam Tinitin.

LEARNED JESUIT MISSIONARIES

Della Valle lodged for a few days in a convent of the Jesuits. Here he found many Italian fathers, besides Portuguese, Castilians, and priests of other nations. The Jesuits employed many Italian fathers on missions to China, Japan, India, and other countries in the East. Many of these missionaries were learned and accomplished men. One was skilled in the languages of China and Japan; another was a great mathematician; a third was learned in Greek and Arabic; whilst one priest was distinguished as a painter.

PROCESSION OF THE HOLY SACRAMENT

On the 27th of April 1623 there was a solemn procession at Goa of the most Holy Sacrament for the annual feast of Corpus Christi. The procession was made by the whole clergy, with a greater show of green boughs than clothes. Mysteries were represented by persons in disguise, accompanied by fictitious animals, dances, and masquerades. These things were not to Della Valle's liking. He says that in Italy they would have been better suited to rural villages than to great cities.

FLEET COURIER FROM MADRID OVERLAND

On the 11th of May a Portuguese gentleman arrived at Goa; he had come from the court of Spain overland through Turkey. He was said to have made a rapid journey; he brought letters from Madrid dated the end of October, and landed at Goa in little more than six months. At Marseilles he met the courier

¹⁴ Other old travellers to Goa bear similar testimony to the vices of the Portuguese in India. The strictest laws were found necessary to keep the sexes apart in ordinary domestic life.

who was carrying the tidings to Madrid that the Portuguese had lost their famous settlement in the island of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf. He brought out a variety of news from Europe, especially that five saints had been canonised in one day, namely, Ignatius Loyola, Francis Xavier, Philip Neri, Teresa, and Isidore.

PROCLAMATION OF SAINT TERESA BY THE BAREFOOTED CARMELITES

SAINT TERESA was the founder of the order of the barefooted Carmelites. Accordingly, the Carmelites at Goa determined to celebrate her canonisation at once, to prevent its being confounded with the canonisation of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the order of the Jesuits. The ceremonial took place on the 20th of May, being nine days after the arrival of the news. Two Portuguese boys, richly clad in riding-habits as couriers, were sent to announce the canonisation of Saint Teresa to the Viceroy of Goa in certain appropriate verses. The same boys proclaimed the glorious occasion with the sound of a trumpet throughout the streets of Goa, and scattered the verses amongst the people of the city. Meanwhile the bells in all the churches were ringing with joy; for so the Bishop had given orders. At night there were displays of fireworks throughout the city; whilst all the chief Portuguese of the place paraded the streets in various disguises after the manner of a masquerade. Della Valle went in the garb of an Arab gentleman, and was accompanied by a boy dressed as a Persian soldier.

FEAST OF SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST: PERFORMANCES OF THE KANARESE CHRISTIANS

On the 24th of June the feast of Saint John the Baptist was celebrated at Goa. The Viceroy and other Portuguese gentlemen rode through the city in masquerade habits, but without masks. They next heard Mass in the church of Saint John, and then went to the large street of Saint Paul. Many companies of Kanarese Christian soldiers marched past with ensigns, drums, and arms, leaping and playing along the streets with drawn swords in their hands. Della Valle saw the show from the house of a local gentleman who was called King of the Maldives. The ancestors of this man had been real kings, but he had been driven out of his dominions by his own subjects; and he had fled to Goa and turned Christian, in the hope that the Portuguese would help him to recover his kingdom. He soon discovered that he had been deceived; and there were many other princes in India who had been deceived by the Portuguese in like manner.

CANONISATION OF IGNATIUS AND XAVIER CELEBRATED
BY THE JESUITS

Subsequently the Jesuits of the college of Saint Paul celebrated the canonisation of their two saints, Ignatius and Xavier, and the splendour of the ceremonial far exceeded that of the Carmelites. All the collegians came forth in a great cavalcade, divided into three squadrons under three banners. One squadron represented Europe, the second Asia, and the third Africa; and the men of each squadron were dressed in the costumes of the nations of their respective continents. Before the cavalcade went a chariot of clouds, with Fame on the top, who sounded her trumpet to the accompaniment of other music, and proclaimed the canonisation of Ignatius and Xavier. Two other chariots followed; one represented Faith, or the Church; the other was a Mount Parnassus, carrying Apollo and the Muses as representatives of the sciences taught in the college. Five great pyramids, covered with pictures, were also drawn along on wheels by men on foot. The first was painted with all the martyrs of the order of Jesuits. The second was painted with doctors and authors belonging to the same order. The third was painted with figures of every nation to which the Jesuits had sent missions, and thus represented the various languages in which the Jesuits preached and taught. The fourth pyramid was painted with devices showing all the provinces of the said religion. The fifth displayed all the miracles which had been performed by the two saints, Ignatius and Xavier. These pyramids were drawn through the principal streets, and then placed as monuments in different parts of the city.

PROCESSION OF OUR LORD'S PASSION

On the first Sunday in Lent the Augustine fathers made a solemn procession to represent the footsteps of our Lord during His Passion. They carried a figure of Christ with a cross on his shoulders, and many scourged themselves as they walked along. They were clad in white sackcloth, very gravely, according to the humour of the Portuguese nation. Altars had been set up at certain places in the city, and the procession halted at each altar, whilst the fathers sang appropriate hymns. After a while the figure of Christ was turned back, and the people filled the air with their lamentations.

MULTITUDE OF PROCESSIONS AND PRIESTS AT GOA

There was no city in the world where there were so many processions as in Goa. The religious orders were rich and numerous, and the priests were vastly in excess of the needs

of the city. At the same time the people of Goa were naturally idle and addicted to shows. They neglected matters of more weight, and more profit to the public, and readily busied themselves in these exhibitions.

OBJECTIONS OF DELLA VALLE

Della Valle remarked that, from a religious point of view, such shows were all very well as part of Divine worship; but from a worldly point of view they were unprofitable, and much too frequent. The crowd of monks and ecclesiastics was burdensome to the state and prejudicial to the militia. Goa was a city bordering on enemies; it was the metropolis of a kingdom lying in the midst of barbarians. Under such circumstances the utmost attention should have been given to fleets and armies.

LOW TONE OF CHRISTIANITY AT GOA

Della Valle furnishes a striking illustration of the low tone of Christian thought in Goa. During Lent there were sermons preached at evening time in the different churches on the Passion of our Lord. At the end of these sermons pictures were exhibited by lighted tapers; one day that of "Ecce Homo," another day that of our Lord carrying the cross, and on the last day there was a picture of the Crucifixion. Sometimes the figures in the pictures were made to move and turn; thus a robe fell from the "Ecce Homo" and discovered the wounded body. At this sight the people raised prodigious cries and the women shrieked and screamed. The gentlewomen were so zealous that they not only cried out themselves, but obliged their maids to cry out in like manner; and if there was any failure in this respect, they would beat their maids in church, and that very loudly, so that every one could hear them.

EMBASSY FROM GOA TO THE RAJA OF KANARA

In October 1623 the Viceroy of Goa proposed sending an ambassador to the Raja of Kanara, a potentate whose dominions lay at some distance to the south of Goa. Della Valle was very anxious to see some Hindu country under Hindu rule, where the people performed their own rites after their own manner, without any interference from Muhammadan or Christian masters. Accordingly he accompanied the ambassador on his mission to Kanara.

HISTORY OF SOUTHERN INDIA: THREE HINDU EMPIRES:

TELINGA, TAMIL, AND KANARESE

Before describing Della Valle's visit to Southern India, it may be as well to glance at the general history of the Peninsula. There were three traditional Hindu empires or

nationalities in the south, which are distinguished by their respective languages, namely, the Telugu, the Tamil, and the Kanarese. Each of these empires was occasionally disjointed into groups of kingdoms, and sometimes one or more kingdoms were consolidated into some temporary empire. The Telingana empire of Vijayanagara, the Tamil kingdom of Madura, and the Kanarese empire of the Belal dynasty, might be accepted as representatives of such Hindu states and powers; but it must always be borne in mind, in dealing with Hindu history, that whilst the political areas were constantly changing, the areas of the respective languages remained the same.¹⁵

CONVERSION OF PROVINCES INTO KINGDOMS AND NAIKS INTO RAJAS

When a Hindu empire was broken up, its provinces became kingdoms, and the Naik or deputy governor of a province became an independent Raja. The breaking-up of the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar is an illustration of these revolutions. A number of petty princes, like the Naiks of Kanara, Mysore, Vellore, Tanjore, and Madura, sprang into existence, and were soon engaged in intermittent wars amongst themselves.¹⁶ Della Valle's visit to the south will bring some of these petty Rajas under close review.

SUCCESSFUL WARS OF VENK-TAPA NAIK OF KANARA

According to Della Valle, the Raja of Kanara was known by the name of Venk-tapa Naik. The father or predecessor of this prince was some time vassal of the great Raja of Vijayanagar; but after the downfall of that empire he became absolute sovereign of the province of which he had been hitherto only governor. Venk-tapa Naik was a good soldier, and had greatly enlarged his dominions by seizing the territories of his neighbours. He had gone to war with a neighbouring prince, known as the Raja of Banghel, who was an ally of Portugal. He had dispossessed the Raja of his fort and territory, and defeated a Portuguese force which had been sent to restore the Raja to the throne of Banghel.

INTERFERENCE OF WAR WITH THE PEPPER TRADE

In spite of this victory over the Portuguese forces, Venk-tapa Naik was anxious for peace with Portugal. His country produced much pepper, and the Portuguese were accustomed

¹⁵ See Wheeler's *History*, Appendix II, Hindu Annals.

¹⁶ The legends of the Naiks of Madura furnish a fair specimen of the Hindu annals of these little Rajas.

Strictly speaking, the old Rajas of Vellore were not Naiks, but representatives of the old family of Vijayanagar, and as such claimed to be suzerains over the whole Peninsula.

to buy it. Moreover, the Portuguese owed him a large balance for the pepper of the previous year. He was thus ready to form an alliance with the Viceroy of Goa, but he suspected that the Viceroy wanted him to restore the territory and fortress of Banghel, and he was resolved to do nothing of the kind. He sent a Brahman named Vitula Sinay to Goa, and this Brahman had carried on some negotiations with the Portuguese Viceroy, and was now returning to Kanara, accompanied by the Portuguese ambassador and Della Valle.

COASTING VOYAGE OFF BIJAPUR TERRITORY

The country intervening between Goa and Kanara belonged to the Muhammadan Sultan of Bijapur. The journey between the two territories might thus have been made by land, but the Sultan's officers were not always courteous to the Portuguese. It was therefore resolved to send the embassy by sea. The Brahman, Vitula Sinay, went in one ship, and the Portuguese ambassador and Della Valle went in another. Three other ships carried the baggage, as well as horses and other presents for Venk-tapa Naik. The whole were accompanied by a convoy of Portuguese war-frigates under the command of a Portuguese admiral.

The fleet sailed from Goa to the Portuguese port of Onore, a distance of eighteen leagues.¹⁷ The voyage was marked by incidents peculiar to the seventeenth century. There was a difficulty about seamen. Goa was on the decline, and the Sultan of Bijapur would not permit the Portuguese ships to enter his ports and engage mariners. Next there was a bootless chase of Malabar corsairs; but, after some delay, the fleet arrived at Onore.

PORTUGUESE FORT AT ONORE

The port of Onore was a fair specimen of a Portuguese settlement. There was a large fort with a commandant. Most of the married Portuguese lived within the fort in separate houses, having wells and gardens. The streets within the fort were large and fair, and there was also a piazza which would hold all the inhabitants in the event of a siege. There were two churches, but only one priest, who was the vicar of the Archbishop of Goa.

SCANDAL AT ONORE

Within this secluded fort there had been an exciting scandal. The wife of the commandant was very jealous. She had banished a servant who was supposed to have carried messages from the commandant to other ladies. The vicar had inter-

¹⁷ Onore appears on modern maps under the name of Hunahwar.

ferred, and there had been a grand quarrel between the commandant and the vicar. The ambassador had been ordered to make peace between the two. He was said to have succeeded as far as outward appearances were concerned, but it was only a forced reconciliation.

STORY OF VENK-TAPA NAIK
AND HIS MUHAMMADAN MISTRESS

Della Valle and the embassy were delayed some days at Onore. The kingdom of Venk-tapa Naik bordered on Onore;¹⁸ but the Raja had lost a beloved wife, and would not see any one. A curious story was told of this queen. Both she and her husband were Hindus of the caste and religion of the Lingavants.¹⁹ After many years of married life, the queen discovered that her husband kept a Muhammadan mistress. She would have overlooked the affront had her rival been a pure Hindu, but the woman was a Muhammadan, and an eater of flesh meat, and the connection was regarded as impure. Accordingly the Hindu queen vowed that she would never more live with Venk-tapa excepting as his daughter. The Raja implored her to change her mind, and offered to pay a large sum for the redemption of her vow, but she remained obdurate until death.

VENK-TAPA NAIK PERPLEXED
AT THE PORTUGUESE AMBASSADOR

But Venk-tapa had other reasons, besides grief for the loss of his queen, for not wishing to see the Portuguese ambassador. He suspected that the ambassador would demand the restoration of Banghel. He was angry with the Portuguese for not having paid for last year's pepper, and he was troubled about the sale of the pepper for the current year. He saw that the fortunes of the Portuguese were on the decline, and he was inclined to take advantage of their weakness, and carry matters with a high hand.

STORY OF GARSOPA AND THE QUEEN OF PEPPER

At last the embassy set out from Onore to go to the city of Ikkeri, the capital of Venk-tapa's kingdom of Kanara. Some difficulties were felt in the way of provisions and coolies; but

¹⁸ The Raj of Kanara under Venk-tapa Naik extended from Onore to Mangalore, and included the Raj of Karnata. At Mangalore the country to the southward was known as Malabar, and formed the dominion of the Zamorin. Mangalore was, in fact, the boundary between Kanara and Malabar. At a later period Cannanore became the frontier.

¹⁹ The Lingavants were worshippers of the linga or phallus as an emblem of the Supreme Being and Creator of the universe. This strange faith was not incompatible with morals, as the symbol is said to be devoid of all grossness in the minds of the worshippers.

the Brahman envoy made excuses for all shortcomings, and did his best to smooth matters. Three leagues to the south of Onore was the city of Garsopa, which had been ruined by Venk-tapa Naik. In former years there had been a queen of Garsopa, who was known to the Portuguese as the Queen of Pepper. In that country the queens took as many lovers or husbands as they pleased, but the queen of Garsopa chose a mean man and a stranger, who at last took possession of her kingdom. The queen appealed to the Portuguese for help against the traitor, who in his turn applied for help to Venk-tapa Naik. In the end, Venk-tapa Naik invaded Garsopa, put the traitor to death, took possession of the country, destroyed the city and palace, and carried off the queen as his prisoner. When Della Valle visited the spot, the city was covered with jungle; trees were growing above the ruins of the houses; and four cottages of peasants were all that remained of a populous city.

JOURNEY OVER THE GHATS

After leaving Garsopa, Della Valle and his party began to climb the Ghat. The mountain was not so high as the Apennines, but the ascent was easier, the woods were more beautiful and dense, and the water was quite as clear.

MUHAMMADAN COMMANDANT

On the top of the Ghat there was a fortress, together with a village and a temple of Hanuman, the monkey god who helped Rama in his wars against Ravana. In the evening the captain of the fortress sent a present of sugar-canes and other refreshments to the Portuguese ambassador. He was a Muhammadan from the Dekhan. He had formerly been in the service of the Sultan of Bijapur, but had been taken prisoner by Venk-tapa Naik, and entered the service of his Hindu conquerer. He had now been twenty-five years in the service of the Hindu Raja without changing his religion.

TEMPLE OF HANUMAN, THE MONKEY GOD:

DIVISION OF OFFERINGS

Della Valle was very much interested in the temple of Hanuman. He saw the statue of the monkey god set up in the temple, with lights burning before it. A silver hand had been hung up on the wall by some devout person, probably as a votive offering for the cure of some disease of the hand. Many people came to offer fruit and other edibles to the idol. One of the priests presented the offerings, murmuring his orisons. Half of the offerings was reserved for the servants of the temple, and the other half was returned to the

worshipper. If it was but a cocoa-nut, the priest split it in two before the idol, and then gave back one-half to the man who offered it. The worshipper took his half of the cocoa-nut with great reverence, and would afterwards eat it as sacred food that had been tasted by the idol.

PILGRIMAGE OF HANUMAN TO THE COAST OF COROMANDEL

At night there was barbarous music at the gate of the temple. Della Valle was told that Hanuman was about to go on pilgrimage to a place of devotion near the Portuguese city of St. Thome on the coast of Coromandel.²⁰ The idol was to be carried in a palanquin, accompanied by a great crowd of men and women, with music and songs, much in the same manner that the bodies or images of the saints were carried in procession or pilgrimage to Loretto or Rome in the Holy Year.

HINDU FEMALE SAINT

Amongst others who assisted at the service of the idol was a woman who was held to be a saint. It was said that she took no food, not even rice, and that the idol delighted to sleep with her. The people often asked her about future events, and when she had consulted the idol, she gave them their answer.

VISIT OF THE MUHAMMADAN COMMANDANT

The sights on the top of the Ghat were many and various. The captain of the fortress paid a visit to the Portuguese ambassador. He was accompanied by a number of soldiers with various kinds of weapons. Most of them had pikes, lances like half-pikes, and swords. Two of the soldiers had swords and bucklers, and appeared in front of the captain, dancing and skirmishing after their manner, as if they fought together.

HINDU BOYS LEARNING ARITHMETIC

In the afternoon, whilst standing in the porch of the temple, Della Valle saw four little boys learning arithmetic by writing out their lessons with their fingers on a sanded pavement. The first boy sung his lesson, such as two and two make four; and the other boys sung and wrote after him in like manner. When the pavement was full of figures, it was wiped clean and strewed with fresh sand.

MUHAMMADAN MOSQUE IN HINDU TERRITORY

At last the Portuguese ambassador and party resumed their journey. About half a league from the fortress Della Valle saw a Muhammadan mosque beside a tank. He was told that

²⁰ The place of pilgrimage was probably Trivalore, three or four miles from Madras; or it may have been Ramisseram, at the extreme south of the Indian peninsula.

the captain of the fortress had been permitted by Venk-tapa Naik to build this mosque; but this was regarded as a great favour, for Hindu Rajas were not accustomed to suffer temples of other religions to be set up within their territories.

TEMPLE OF VARUNA

At another halting-place, Della Valle saw a temple of Varuna.²¹ The idol stood at the upper end with candles before him. Della Valle could not see the figure, but was told it was in the shape of a man. There were other idols, some of which were figures of gods, whilst others were only ornaments. There were also some immodest representations of men and women, but these were not gods. Amongst the gods was a Brahma with five heads, and three arms on a side, sitting astride a peacock; a Narayan (Vishnu) with four arms on a side; a Ganesha with the head of an elephant, another idol with a man under his feet, upon whose head he trampled; together with others of various sorts.

ANCIENT DIADEMS, EGYPTIAN AND ROMAN CATHOLIC

Della Valle observed that all these idols had the same covering on the head, with many picks or peaks, all ending in one long peak; a strange and majestic diadem, which was no longer used in India. Della Valle remembered to have seen in Rome some diadems of the same shape upon the heads of some Egyptian statues. They were like the diadems of Catholic saints; or, as some made it, three crowns, one upon another, like the pontifical crown of the Pope.²²

PROCESSION AT THE TEMPLE OF VARUNA

In the evening the priests of the temple of Varuna rung a kind of bell or shell inside the building by striking it with a staff. They then beat two drums very loudly, and sounded two pipes or flutes of metal. The people assembled without, whilst tapers were lighted within. The image of Varuna was then placed in a palanquin under a rich canopy, and a procession was formed. One of the priests marched in front continually sounding a bell. Many others followed with bells, ending with two who carried lighted tapers. Then followed the idol under the canopy, preceded by a priest carrying a vessel of burning perfumes. The procession entered the court without the temple, and so through the gate of the court into the street,

²¹ This was a curious relic of Vedic worship. Varuna, or, as Della Valle spells it, "Virena," was the Vedic deity of the sea.

²² This diadem is a singular relic of antiquity. It is to be found in images and carvings all over India and Burma. It is the special head-dress of Buddhas. How it was transferred to the Holy See is a question which opens up new fields of study.

still sounding the bells; and so through the city, accompanied by a great train of men and women.

CEREMONIAL BEFORE THE IDOL

When the procession returned to the temple, a priest from the upper end saluted the idol, and made many circles with a lighted taper in his hand. The same priest then approached the idol, sounding a bell, followed by a boy carrying a basin of prepared sandalwood. The priest walked three times round the idol, amidst the noise of drums and flutes. He then laid aside the bell, and dipping his finger in the sandalwood, placed it on the forehead of the idol. He next took the idol out of the palanquin, and placed it on the tribunal at the upper end of the temple. Lastly, he distributed amongst the people some slices of cocoa-nut which had been offered to the idol. The lights were then put out, the music ceased, and the ceremonial was brought to a close.

IKKERI, THE CAPITAL OF KANARA

The Portuguese ambassador and his party arrived at Ikkeri in due course. The city was seated in a goodly plain. Della Valle says that he and his party passed through three gates with forts and ditches. Consequently the city must have had three enclosures. The two first lines were not walls, but fences of high Indian canes, very thick and closely planted; strong against horse or foot, hard to cut, and not in danger of fire. The third enclosure was a wall, but weak and inconsiderable. Ikkeri was a large city, but the houses were scattered and ill built, especially those outside the third enclosure. Most of the site was laid out in great and long streets, some of them shadowed with high trees growing in lakes of water. There were also fields full of trees, like groves; so that the place seemed to consist of a city, lakes, fields, and woods mingled together, forming a very delightful sight.

PUBLIC AUDIENCE AT THE PALACE OF VENK-TAPA

After a day or two's delay, the Portuguese ambassador obtained an audience with Venk-tapa Naik. The party rode to the palace in procession, accompanied with drums and music. The palace stood in a large fortress, environed with a ditch and some badly-built bastions. There were also many streets of houses and shops within the fortress. On reaching the palace, the ambassador and his party found the Raja seated on a raised pavement in a kind of porch at the upper end of a small court. Over his head was a canopy, shaped like a square tent, but made of boards and covered

with gilding. The floor was covered with a piece of tapestry somewhat old. The Raja sat on a little quilt, having two cushions of white silk at his back. Before him lay his sword adorned with silver. On the right hand, and behind the Raja, stood several courtiers, one of whom continually waved a white fan before him, as if to drive away the flies.

THE CONFERENCE

Venk-tapa Naik chewed betel-leaves throughout the conference. He asked the ambassador why the Portuguese ships were so late this year, thereby showing his disgust at the delay in the payment for the pepper. The ambassador replied that a Portuguese fleet was coming out to India with a great army; that the kings of Spain and Portugal had formed an alliance with England; that Prince Charles of England was on a visit to the Court of Madrid; that all England had been reduced to the Catholic faith by the public command of the king of Spain, "with other levities," says Della Valle, "which are peculiar to the Portuguese."

SINGING AND DANCING IN HONOUR OF GAURI

Della Valle witnessed many sights at Ikkeri which are peculiarly Hindu. Several companies of young girls danced in circles with painted sticks in their hands about a span long. They were dressed in figured silks from the waist downwards, with linen jackets and scarfs over their shoulders. Their heads were decked with yellow and white flowers, formed into a high and large diadem, with some sticking out like sunbeams, and others twisted together and hanging out in several fashions. As they danced, they struck their sticks together after a musical measure, amidst the sound of drums and other instruments. They sang songs in honour of their goddess Gauri;²³ one sang a verse at a time, and the others chanted a chorus.

SWINGING FESTIVAL;

CHARIOTS OF THE GODS; JANGAMAS

At another place Della Valle saw a beam set up at a great height within the city. He was told that on certain holidays devout people hung themselves on hooks from this beam, and sang hymns in honour of the gods, whilst brandishing their swords and bucklers.²⁴ He also saw great chariots in which the gods were carried in procession, whilst dancing women played, sang, and danced. Many Indian friars were to be seen

²³ The goddess Gauri is obscure; she is generally identified with Durga, the wife of Siva or Mahadeva, and sometimes with Savitri, the wife of Brahma.

²⁴ This was the well-known Charak Puja, which is so often noticed by missionary writers. It was abolished about 1864 by the Government.

in the city of Ikkeri, who were called Jangamas. They were smeared with ashes, and clad in extravagant habits, with hoods or cowls of a reddish brick colour, and bracelets on their arms and legs which jingled as they walked.²⁵

EXTRAORDINARY PERFORMANCE OF A DANCING GIRL

One dancing woman showed extraordinary dexterity. She stood on one foot, and then with the other foot she turned a large iron ring swiftly in the air without letting it fall from her toe. At the same time she tossed two balls alternately in the air with one hand without letting one fall.

SUCCESSION IN THE FEMALE LINE

Another day Della Valle saw the nephew of Venk-tapa Naik passing along the street of Ikkeri. He was the son of the Naik's sister, and the next in succession to the throne. This was in accordance with the custom of Kanara and Malabar. The succession ran in the female line, falling to the son of a sister, and not to the son of a wife, in order to ensure a blood lineage.²⁶ The heir-apparent to the Raj of Kanara was riding on horseback attended by a great number of soldiers, horse and foot. He was preceded by a band of barbarous music, whilst elephants walked both before and behind.

PROCESSION OF A WIDOW PREPARATORY TO BURNING

One night Della Valle met a woman in the streets of Ikkeri, who had lost her husband, and was bent on burning herself. She rode on horseback with open face, holding a looking-glass in one hand and a lemon in the other. She went along singing and chanting her farewell to the world, with such passionate language as aroused all who heard her. She was followed by many men and women, and some carried an umbrella over her to do her honour. Drums were sounded before her, and she never ceased to accompany the noise with her sad songs. She shed no tears, but her calm and constant countenance evidenced more grief for the death of her husband, and more anxiety to join him in another world, than regret for her departure out of this life. Della Valle was told that she would ride in procession in this manner through the streets for a certain number of days, and then go out of the city and be burned alive with more company and more solemnity.

²⁵ Further notices of these Jangamas appear later on in the narrative. They were priests of the Lingayats, or Linga worshippers.

²⁶ The relationship of a sister's son was certain, as there could be no doubt as to the mother; but the son of a wife was uncertain, as there was always doubt as to the father. This law of inheritance arose from the unbounded license of the higher orders of Malabar women, which had hardened into an institution.

GREAT TEMPLE OF AGHORESVARA AT IKKERI

Della Valle saw the great temple of Ikkeri, which was dedicated to an idol named Aghoresvara.²⁷ The idol was in the form of a man with one head and sixteen arms. Venk-tapa Naik had a particular devotion to this idol.

GRAND PROCESSION OF BRAHMANS AND DANCING GIRLS

One evening tapers were lit in all the temples in Ikkeri; a great noise was made with drums and pipes, whilst priests began to dance before the gates of the temples. Della Valle went off to the great temple of Aghoresvara. The people were called together by the sound of trumpets. The priests formed a procession, carrying two idols in one palanquin, but the figures were so small, and so decked with flowers and ornaments, that Della Valle could not make them out.²⁸ The procession was accompanied by music, torches, lances, streamers, and umbrellas. There was a long train of dancing girls, two by two, decked in gold and jewels. There were other women, marching on either side of the palanquin, carrying little staves with long white horse-tails, with which they fanned away the flies from the idols, in the same way that the Pope was fanned when he went abroad in pontificalibus. Many priests accompanied the idols. In this manner the procession entered the piazza of the temple, and made a large ring or circle. The women then saluted the idols, and began to dance, with much leaping, fencing, and other mad gestures. The procession next moved outside the temple round the outer enclosure, halting at intervals to repeat the salutations and dancing. At last the procession re-entered the temple, and the ceremonies were brought to a close.

CELEBRATION OF THE NEW MOON

The next night was the new moon. All the temples in Ikkeri were illuminated with candles and torches; so were all the streets, houses, and shops. Every temple had its idol, and in some temples the idol was a serpent. The outer porches were illuminated in like manner, and adorned with transparencies of painted horsemen, elephants, people fighting, and other odd figures. A great concourse of men and women went about the city visiting all the temples in Ikkeri. Late at night Venk-tapa came to the temple of Aghoresvara with his two nephews, attended by a large train of soldiers and servants. He was entertained with music and dancing, and other perform-

²⁷ The ruins of this temple are still to be seen. The god was a form of Isvara or Siva.

²⁸ Doubtless they were Siva or Isvara, and the goddess Parvati or Durga.

ances or ceremonies which Della Valle could not see. He stayed within the temple about an hour, and then returned to his palace.

DELLA VALLE'S REMARKS ON HINDU WORSHIP

Della Valle remarked that the Hindu worship of the gods chiefly consisted in music, songs, and dances, and in serving the idols as though they were living beings. Thus the priests presented the idols with things to eat, washed them, perfumed them, gave them betel leaves, dyed them with sandal, and carried them abroad in processions. The priests seemed to devote but little time either to prayers or study. Della Valle asked an old priest of reputed learning what books he had read. The priest replied that books were only made to enable man to know God, and that when God was known the books were useless.

PROCESSION AND DANCING

AT THE ORDINATION OF A JANGAMA

One day Della Valle saw salutations and dancing performed in honour of an Indian friar, known as a Jangama. Water had been poured on the holy man, and other ceremonies had been performed, like those at the ordination of a Catholic priest or creation of a Doctor. The newly-created Jangama was clad all in white, and carried sitting in a handsome palanquin, with two white umbrellas held over him, and a led horse behind. He was followed by a great crowd of other Jangamas, clad in their ordinary habits.²⁹ A large company of soldiers and other people marched in front of the palanquin with drums, fifes, trumpets, timbrels, and bells. Amongst them was a troop of dancing girls adorned with girdles, necklaces, rings upon their legs, and breastplates stuck with jewels, but without any veil or head tire. This procession entered the piazza of the great temple of Aghoresvara, and there halted. The multitude formed a ring, and the women began to dance like the morris-dancers of Italy, only they sang as they danced. One woman danced by herself with extravagant and high jumping, but always looking towards the palanquin. Sometimes she cowered down with her haunches nearly touching the ground; sometimes she leaped up and struck her haunches with her feet backwards. She was continually singing and making gestures with her hands, but after a barbarous fashion. When the dancing was over the palanquin was carried through the streets, halting at intervals for singing and dancing, until it went out of the city to the dwelling-house of the Jangama.

²⁹ Red cowls, bracelets, &c. See *ante*.

KISSING THE FEET OF THE JANGAMAS

Meanwhile many persons came with much devotion to kiss the feet of the Jangamas who followed the palanquin. These Indian friars were so numerous, and the ceremony of kissing their feet occupied so much time, that whenever a man came up, the whole procession halted until the kissing was over. Meanwhile the Jangamas assumed airs of strict severity, and were to all appearance as much abstracted from earthly things as Catholic friars whose garments were being kissed by pious devotees.

DANCING GIRLS VISIT THE PORTUGUESE AMBASSADOR

The dancing girls did not confine their attention to gods and Jangamas. One day twelve or fifteen of these damsels paid a visit to the quarters of the Portuguese ambassador, under the conduct of some of their men. They were all young, and all were courtesans, after the manner of Indian dancing girls. They did nothing during the day but talk amongst themselves, though some of them indulged in a little drinking. At night they began to sing and dance, and snap their wooden staves. One dance represented a battle and motions of slaughter. Towards the conclusion the master of the ball danced in the midst of them with a naked poignard, and represented the action of slaughter with his poignard, just as the girls did with their sticks.³⁰ The end of the entertainment was most ridiculous. When the girls were dismissed, they were not satisfied with the largess of the ambassador, although Della Valle had added a like amount. Accordingly they went away testifying their discontent with choleric yellings.

DISMISSAL OF THE EMBASSY

The conferences between the Portuguese ambassador and Venk-tapa were brought to a close without any incidents of interest. Venk-tapa Naik remained in possession of the fort and territory of the Raja of Banghel, but allowed a yearly pension of seven thousand pagodas to the conquered Raja, so long as he lived peaceably and attempted no further commotions.

CONVICTION OF GALAL, THE CONVERTED MUSALMAN

By this time Della Valle had seen enough of Ikkeri, and determined to pay a visit to other Hindu capitals. Suddenly, to his great surprise, his money disappeared from his baggage. He was horror-stricken at the idea of being left to perish amongst barbarians. Suspicion fell upon Galal, the young

³⁰ Della Valle is here describing the same kind of dance as that in which the disguised assassins stabbed the son of Deva Rai, in the reign of Firuz Shah.

Muhammadan servant from Persia, who was supposed by Della Valle to have become a convert to Catholic Christianity. The convert was searched, and a long purse of Spanish reals was found fastened to his waist. He had evidently intended to leave his master to the tender mercies of the heathen, and to squander the stolen money on sinful pleasures in some neighbouring territory. Della Valle discharged the thief, but being afraid lest he should relapse into Islam, he sent the boy to Goa in the charge of trusty persons, together with a letter explaining all that had happened.

END OF GALAL

The sequel of the story of Galal is told at a later period. He managed to leave his custodians behind, and to appear alone at Goa, feigning that he had been sent on to take a house, and make other preparations for the coming of his master. He kept back Della Valle's letter, pretending that he had lost it at sea, and was very importunate for money to provide all things necessary. Suspicions, however, were excited, and money was refused; and he then disappeared for ever. It was believed that he had escaped to some Muhammadan country, thrown off his Christianity, and returned to the faith in Islam.

DIFFICULTIES OF TRAVELLERS IN HINDU COUNTRIES

Meanwhile Della Valle left Ikkeri and proceeded to the territory of the queen of Olaza, which bordered on Mangalore. He found that travelling in Hindu countries was very difficult on the score of diet. Hindus were extremely fastidious in all such matters; neither fish nor flesh was to be obtained from them; nor would they supply inanimate things, such as rice, butter, or milk, excepting as a great favour. The people lived by cultivating rice, which was done by overflowing the soil with water; but they complained of the large tribute they were obliged to pay to Venk-tapa, which reduced them to great poverty notwithstanding their hard labour.

PORTUGUESE PORT OF MANGALORE

Della Valle made his way from Ikkeri to the Portuguese port of Mangalore, which stood between the territories of Olaza and Banghel. This port was situated at the mouth of two rivers; one running from the north through Banghel territory, and the other running from the south through Olaza territory. Both towns were within a mile or two of Mangalore.

DELLA VALLE'S MEETING WITH THE QUEEN OF OLAZA

Della Valle went to the town of Olaza, but found that the queen was not there; she had gone to a place much farther inland, named Manel. A day or two afterwards he went to

Manel in a boat, accompanied by a Christian servant and a Brahman interpreter. He was going to the bazar to procure a lodging in some house, when he saw the queen coming on foot the same way. She was not attended by women, but only by soldiers. Six soldiers walked before her with swords and bucklers, but without any clothing save a cloth round their loins and a kind of scarf over the shoulders. Other soldiers walked behind her in the same fashion, and one of them carried an umbrella of palm leaves to shade her from the sun.

DESCRIPTION OF A HINDU QUEEN

The queen of Olaza was as black as an Ethiopian. She was corpulent and gross, but not heavy, for she walked nimbly enough. She appeared to be about forty years of age. She wore a plain piece of cotton cloth from her waists downwards; but nothing at all from her waist upwards, except a cloth about her head, which hung down a little upon her breast and shoulders. She walked barefooted, but that was the custom of all Hindu women, high and low, at home and abroad. Most of the men were unshod in like manner; a few of the graver sort wore sandals, but very few wore shoes. The queen was more like a kitchen-maid or washerwoman than a noble princess; but her voice was graceful, and she spoke like a woman of judgment.

CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE HINDU QUEEN AND THE ROMAN GENTLEMAN

Della Valle and his party stood on one side to permit the queen to pass. She noticed his Roman habit, and spoke to his Brahman interpreter. She asked Della Valle through the Brahman what countries he had visited, and what had brought him to those woods of hers. Della Valle replied that he only came to see her; that he had lost a beloved wife, and was a Yogi in all his thoughts, caring but little what betided him. At last she told him to go and lodge at some house, and she would speak to him at some more convenient time. She then proceeded to the fields about a mile off to see some trenches that were being dug for conveying water to certain lands.

STORY OF THE QUEEN OF OLAZA

The queen of Olaza had come into possession of her kingdom in a peculiar manner. The succession went as usual to the son of a sister, and not to the son of a wife. But the last Raja of Olaza had died without leaving either son or nephew. Accordingly his wife succeeded him; and when she died, she was succeeded by her sister, the present queen.

MARRIAGE WITH THE RAJA OF BANGHEL

After the queen of Olaza came to the throne, she married the

Raja of Banghel, the man who was afterwards conquered by Venk-tapa Naik. The queen and the Raja did not live together as man and wife, but met occasionally on the frontier of their respective dominions, and dwelt together for awhile in tents.³¹ The Raja had other wives, and the queen had other lovers; but they continued on good terms for years.

WARS BETWEEN THE QUEEN AND THE RAJA; INTERFERENCE OF
THE PORTUGUESE AND VENK-TAPA NAIK

At last there was a quarrel, but Della Valle did not know the cause. The queen divorced the Raja, and sent him back all the jewels he had given her as his wife. The Raja was much offended and made war upon her. One day the Raja carried her off prisoner; but she managed to make her escape, and then declared war against Banghel. The Raja called in the aid of the Portuguese, and the queen called in the aid of Venk-tapa Naik. In the end Venk-tapa Naik annexed the Raj of Banghel, defeated the Portuguese, and compelled the queen of Olaza to cede a considerable territory.

The queen had a son, aged twenty, who would succeed to the kingdom after her death. She was said to have poisoned an elder son, because, when he had grown up, he tried to supplant her in the government of the kingdom.³²

DELLA VALLE'S VISIT TO THE PALACE

Della Valle paid a visit to the palace in the absence of the queen, and was entertained with a Hindu dinner, at which he astonished the queen's son by eating with a knife, fork, and spoon.³³ A conversation ensued between the Hindu prince and the Italian stranger. The prince asked questions about European affairs. Della Valle told him that the greatest sovereign in Europe was my Lord the Pope, to whom all other potentates owed obedience. Next to the Pope came the Emperor of Germany. France was the first nation in Europe.

³¹ It has already been pointed out in Wheeler's *History* that the Malabar country was the land of Amazons. The legend is told in the *Maha Bharata* precisely as it is told in Herodotus. See Wheeler's *History of India*, vol. i., *Maha Bharata*.

³² Della Valle hesitated to believe the story, but such plots and poisonings have always been common to Hindu and Mughal history.

³³ The dinner was cooked in Hindu fashion and served up on the floor in large fresh leaves instead of dishes. In those days the Portuguese in India followed the example of natives in eating their food with the right hand. Della Valle had been brought up in the refinements of Italy, and carried a knife, fork, and spoon with him. He railed against the barbarous custom of the Portuguese, declaring that the meanest Turkish soldier always fastened a spoon to the belt of his sword. Accordingly he sat cross-legged on the floor, and managed to eat a dinner in the Italian fashion, much to the wonderment and admiration of the Hindu prince, who had probably never seen a fork before.

Spain had the largest territory and the most riches. Della Valle added that the king of Spain and Portugal, who was so much esteemed in India, paid tribute to the Pope, and held his kingdoms of his Holiness in homage. Accordingly the Hindu prince had a great conceit of the Pope.

MUHAMMADAN SOVEREIGNS

The prince of Olaza also talked to Della Valle about the Muhammadan sovereigns in Asia. He especially cried up the Mughal. Della Valle told him that in Europe the Mughal was held to be the richest in treasure, but that otherwise the Turk and the Persian were in higher esteem. The Mughal had more subjects than the two others, but they were not fitted for war, as appeared in a recent war with Persia. The Hindu prince professed to regard Shah Abbas, the sovereign of Persia, as a great soldier and captain; and Della Valle related how for a long time he had been familiar with Shah Abbas, and received from him many favours.

DELLA VALLE REFUSES TO TRADE IN JEWELS OR HORSES

The prince also spoke concerning European commodities, and especially of such as were brought to India. He asked Della Valle if he had any goods to sell or bargain, such as pearls or jewels. Like other Hindu princes, he had been accustomed to deal with the Portuguese, who were all engaged in trade from the very highest downwards. Della Valle stood on his nobility. "In his country," he said, "the nobles had nothing to do with traffic; they only conversed with arms or books." The prince expressed an anxiety to procure a horse from Italy; and this was not surprising. The native breeds in India were very poor. The only good horses were brought from Arabia or Persia, and every Portuguese, even of the highest rank, was ready to sell such horses to Indian grandees. Della Valle, however, would listen to no proposals that savoured of trade. He would not sell a horse to the prince, but he promised, if possible, to send one as a present after his return to Rome.

MISSSES THE QUEEN OF OLAZA

The queen of Olaza never sent for Della Valle. She walked every morning to the fields, and returned to the palace at night, and busied herself in giving audiences to her subjects and administering justice. Della Valle once tried to speak to her in the fields, but she told him to go home, and she would send for him in the evening. The night, however, passed away without any message from the queen, and he concluded that she was afraid of being obliged to make him a present. As it was, he returned to Mangalore, and never saw her again.

VISITS THE "KING OF THE YOGIS"

Whilst at Mangalore, Della Valle paid a visit to a celebrated personage, who was known as the "king of the Yogis." A certain circle of land had been given to the Yogis by a former Raja of Banghel. It comprised a hermitage, a temple, and certain habitations of Yogis, together with lands and villages that yielded a yearly revenue. One Yogi was placed in charge, and was known as the king, and when he died a successor was chosen by election. The Yogis were not bound to obey their king, but only to pay him reverence and honour. They went wherever they listed, and were generally dispersed amongst different temples; but at festival times they assembled in considerable numbers near the hermitage and were feasted by their king. The yearly revenue of the territory was about six thousand pagodas, equal to nearly three thousand pounds sterling; and was mostly spent on the maintenance of the king and his servants and labourers, or on the festival entertainments to the Yogis, whilst the remainder was devoted to the service of the temple and idols. Venk-tapa Naik had not as yet exacted any tribute from the king of the Yogis, but it was believed that he would take an early opportunity of doing so.

DESCRIPTION OF THE KING

Della Valle found the king of the Yogis employed in business of a mean sort, like a peasant or villager. He was an old man with a long white beard, but strong and lusty. He had a golden bead hanging from each ear about the size of a musket-bullet; and he wore a little red cap on his head like those worn by Italian galley slaves. He seemed a man of judgment, but was without learning. He told Della Valle that formerly he had horses, elephants, palanquins, and a great equipage and power; but that Venk-tapa Naik had taken all away, so that he had but very little left.

VISITS THE ZAMORIN OF CALICUT

Della Valle next paid a visit to Calicut, the capital of the Zamorin of Malabar. A Portuguese fleet was proceeding to Calicut, and the admiral of the fleet was going as ambassador to bring about a reconciliation between the Zamorin and his hereditary enemy, the Raja of Cochin, who was a firm and ancient ally of Portugal. Della Valle sailed with the fleet, and as usual had his eyes and ears open to all that was going on.

CITY AND BAZAR

The coast was infested by Malabar corsairs, who fled up the creeks and rivers at the approach of the Portuguese. At Calicut Della Valle went ashore with the captain of his ship

and some others, and strolled about the town and bazar, whilst the Portuguese ambassador was endeavouring to persuade the Zamorin to make peace with the Cochin Raja. The streets were long and narrow. The houses were mere huts built of mud and palm leaves. The bazar was largely supplied with provisions and other necessities, but with few articles of clothing, as neither men nor women wore anything except a small piece of cotton or silk hanging from their girdles to their knees.

POPULATION OF MALABAR, HINDU AND MUHAMMADAN

The better sort of people were Hindus, especially those inland, and mostly belonged to the soldier caste, known as Nairs. The sea-coast was inhabited by Malabar Muhammadans, who lived amongst the Hindus and spoke their language, but differed from them in religion. The corsairs who infested the coast were Malabar Muhammadans, and Della Valle saw much of their plunder exposed in the bazar, such as Portuguese swords, arms, books, and clothes, which had been taken from Portuguese ships. No Christian durst buy such articles for fear of being excommunicated by the Catholic clergy.

TROUBLES OF THE ZAMORIN

Meanwhile the Zamorin had been much troubled by the demand of the Portuguese admiral. He was willing to be at peace with Portugal, but he would not come to terms with the Raja of Cochin.³⁴ He heard that strangers from the fleet were wandering about the city, and he sent for them to the palace in the hope of inducing them to plead his cause.

DELLA VALLE AT THE ZAMORIN'S PALACE

Della Valle and his companions were ushered into a small court where a member of courtiers were in attendance, and told to sit down on a raised pavement. Presently, two girls, about twelve years of age, entered the court. They had no clothes beyond a blue cloth round their loins, but their arms, ears, and necks were covered with ornaments of gold and precious stones. They were the daughters, not of the Zamorin, but of his sister, who was styled the queen. They expressed wonder at the strangers, and especially at their clothing. Shortly afterwards the Zamorin made his appearance, accompanied by more courtiers, all of whom were equally devoid of clothing.³⁵ But, in spite of their nudity,

³⁴ The quarrel was one about caste. The Raja of Cochin affected to belong to a higher caste than the Zamorin of Calicut, and this was an affront which could not be forgiven.

³⁵ Della Valle says that on state occasions the Zamorin wore a white vestment, but never otherwise. None of his Nairs were allowed to wear a vestment at any time.

there was much etiquette, and ceremony. The Zamorin was a young man of thirty, with a handsome presence and long beard. He was loaded with jewels, but wore nothing but a cloth hanging from his girdle. He carried a staff in his hand, on which he leaned in a standing posture, and received the salutations of the European strangers with smiles and courtesies, whilst his great men stood beside him with joined hands. Round about the court were cloistered galleries filled with women and amongst them was the queen's sister, abundantly adorned with jewels, but with no more clothing than her daughters.

FRUITLESS NEGOTIATIONS

The negotiations had no result, for Della Valle and his comrades knew nothing of the relations between the Zamorin and the Portuguese. Subsequently it was known that the Zamorin had rejected the overtures of the Portuguese admiral, and utterly refused to make peace with the Cochin Raja, and the Portuguese fleet returned to Goa with a sense of failure.

NAIRS OF MALABAR

Della Valle describes the peculiar customs of Malabar. The Nairs, or soldier caste, formed no marriage ties. Every woman was supported by a set of lovers, and received them in turns. Whenever a Nair visited a woman he left his weapons at the door, which sufficed to keep out all intruders. The children had no regard for their fathers, and all questions of descent were decided by the mother. The sisters of a Raja chose what lovers they pleased, but only from the castes of Nairs and Brahmans.

CUSTOMS OF MALABAR RAJAS

When two Rajas were at war, their persons were deemed sacred. No one ever fought a Raja, or even struck a blow at his royal umbrella. To shed the blood of a Raja was regarded as a heinous sin, and would be followed by a terrible revenge, known as an "Amok." If a Zamorin was killed, his subjects ran "Amok" for a whole day. A Cochin Raja belonged to a higher caste, and if he were slain his subjects ran "Amok" for a whole year, or, as some said, for the rest of their lives.

MUGHAL OUTRAGE ON THE ENGLISH

Della Valle returned to Goa, and thence to Europe *via* Bassorah and Aleppo. In March 1624, before he left Goa, news arrived that the Emperor Jehangir had put to death all the English at his court, and ordered the imprisonment of all who were at Surat. It was said that the English had brought these troubles upon themselves from having seized some of

the Mughal's ships at sea, in order to procure redress for certain grievances. The story is not improbable, but can only be cleared up by reference to contemporary English records.

TAVERNIER, 1641-68.

JOHN BAPTISTA TAVERNIER, the eminent French jewel merchant, travelled several times in India between 1641 and 1668, some twenty or thirty years after the departure of Della Valle. He was emphatically a man of a business turn of mind, and his book of travels was written more for the information and amusement of business men than for the wits and scholars of his time.³⁶

ROUTES FROM PERSIA TO INDIA

Tavernier never went to India round the Cape, although he ultimately went home that way. He was familiar with the sea and land routes from Persia to India. He had sailed from the Persian Gulf to Surat. He had also travelled along the land route from Ispahan to Agra *via* Kandahar, Kabul, Lahore, and Delhi. He seems to have fixed his headquarters alternately at Surat and Agra.

EXTENSIVE TRAVELS WITHIN THE LIMITS OF INDIA

The travels of Tavernier within the limits of India were on an extensive scale. He undertook journeys from Surat to Agra by two different routes; the one *via* Burhanpur, Indore, and Gwalior, and the other *via* Baroda and Ahmedabad. He must have been thoroughly conversant with Afghanistan, the Punjab, and Hindusthan; for his course of travel carried him from Ispahan to Agra, and thence to Bengal, through the cities of Allahabad, Banaras, Patna, Rajmahal, Dacca, and Hughli. He must have been equally conversant with the Dekhan, for he went from Surat to Golkonda *via* Deoghar.³⁷ from Agra to Golkonda, also *via* Deoghar; and from Golkonda eastward to Masulipatam, on the coast of Coromandal. He must also have been tolerably familiar with the Peninsula, for he went from Masulipatam south to the Dutch settlement at Pulicat, the English settlement at Madras, and the Portuguese settlement at St. Thome. From Madras, he returned northward to Golkonda *via* Gandikota, which at that time was the strongest fortress in the Lower Karnataka. In a word, Tavernier travelled through Hindusthan, the Dekhan, and the Lower Karnataka; but he knew nothing of the Upper

³⁶ *The Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier through Turkey into Persia and the East Indies*. Translated into English by J. Phillips. Folio. London. 1678.

³⁷ In tracing the routes of Tavernier on the modern maps of India, it may be as well to bear in mind that Golkonda was close to the city of Hyderabad, and was often confounded with Hyderabad.

Karnataka in the western half of the Peninsula, and consequently knew nothing of Kanara and Malabar, which were the scene of Della Valle's travels.³⁸

COMFORTABLE TRAVELLING: RIDING ON OXEN

The journeys of Tavernier were conducted with that measured leisure which characterised all Indian travelling before the introduction of railways. Indeed, Tavernier says that travelling in India was more commodious than in France or Italy. The traveller did not use horses or asses, but either rode on an ox or was carried in a coach or palanquin. In buying an ox for riding, it was necessary to see that the horns were not more than a foot long; for if the beast was stung by flies, he would toss back his horns into the stomach of the rider.

COACHES DRAWN BY OXEN

The natives of India generally travelled in little coaches drawn by two oxen and carrying two persons. Tavernier, however, states that it was more comfortable for a European traveller to go alone, and take his cloak-bag with him; whilst there was a place under the coach for holding provisions and a small vessel for wine. Tavernier had a coach built for him after the French fashion: the cost of the turn-out, including the two oxen, amounted to six hundred rupees. Some of these oxen would travel on the trot from twelve to fifteen leagues a day for sixty days together. When the oxen had gone half a day's journey, they were refreshed with two or three balls of wheat kneaded with butter and black sugar, about as big as twopenny loaves. The hire of a coach was about a rupee a day. It took forty days to go from Surat to Agra, and another forty days to go from Surat to Golkonda, and the journey on each occasion cost from forty to forty-five rupees.

PALANQUINS

Those travellers who had more money to spend went in a palanquin. This was a little couch, six or seven feet long and three feet broad, with balisters all round it. It was covered with satin or cloth of gold, and carried on a bamboo, whilst a slave walked by the sunny side with an umbrella. A palanquin was mostly carried by six men, three at each end, and they ran along much faster than sedan-bearers in France. The pay of a palanquin-bearer was four rupees a month; but if the journey exceeded sixty days, the pay was five rupees.

GUARDS OF ARMED SOLDIERS

To travel honourably in a coach or palanquin, it was necessary to hire twenty or thirty armed men, some with bows and

³⁸ Tavernier knew something of the city of Cochin, as he describes its capture by the Dutch.

arrows and others with muskets: they were paid at the same rate as the palanquin-bearers. Sometimes, for more magnificence, a banner was carried; and the English and Dutch merchants always carried a flag for the honour of their respective companies. The soldiers were necessary for defence as well as show, and they kept sentries at night and relieved each other. They were always anxious to give satisfaction, for in the towns where they were engaged they had a chieftain who was responsible for their fidelity, and every man paid two rupees to his chieftain in return for his good word.

MUGHAL ROADS SUPERIOR TO HINDU ROADS

Tavernier makes no complaints of the roads that traversed the Mughal empire in Hindusthan. The Mughals, like the Romans, seem to have paid much attention to the roads, for the sake of maintaining their authority in the more remote provinces and suppressing insurrections or revolts. Farther south the roads were not so good. The highway in the Dekhan, running from Hyderabad to Masulipatam, traversed the territories of the Sultan of Golkonda; it was impassable for waggons on account of the mountains, lakes, and rivers between Hyderabad and the coast of Coromandal. The road from Hyderabad to Cape Comorin ran through the Hindu kingdoms of the Peninsula, and was so bad that all goods were carried on the backs of oxen. Travellers were unable to drive in coaches along this road, and were consequently carried in palanquins; but the bearers ran so swiftly that travelling in the Peninsula was more easy and rapid than in any other part of India.³⁹

PROVISIONS

Tavernier found the same difficulties as regards provisions as are mentioned by Della Valle. In the greater villages there was generally a Muhammadan in command, and it was possible to buy mutton, fowls, or pigeons. But when the villages were only occupied by Hindu Banians, there was nothing to be had but flour, rice, herbs, and milk meats.

FORTIFIED TOWNS

Sometimes the heat rendered it advisable to travel by night and rest during the day. At such times it was necessary to depart out of all fortified towns before sunset; for the commandant of the place was responsible for all robberies, and shut the gates at nightfall. Tavernier always bought his provisions and went out of the town in good time, and stayed

³⁹ The state of things described by Tavernier prevailed down to the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

under some tree or in the fresh air until it was cool enough to begin the journey.

FOOT-POSTS

One remarkable institution was that of foot-posts, who carried letters faster than horsemen. At the end of every six miles on a line of route there was a little hut, and men were always there in readiness to run a stage. When a runner reached a hut, he threw the letters on the ground, as it was a bad omen to give them into a messenger's hand. The next appointed runner picked them up and carried them to the next stage; and in this way letters could be sent over the greater part of the Mughal empire. The highways in India were mostly known by the trees on either side. In the absence of trees, a heap of stones was set up at every five hundred paces; and the people of the nearest village were bound to keep the heap whitewashed, so that when the nights were dark and stormy the post-runners might not lose their way.

LAND CARRIAGE

All goods in India were either carried by oxen or in waggons drawn by oxen. Horses and asses were never used. Sometimes camels were employed, but only to carry the luggage of great personages.

CARAVANS OF OXEN

Sometimes ten or twelve thousand oxen were to be seen, all laden with corn, rice, pulse, or salt, at such places where either of those commodities were exchanged for others. They carried corn where rice only was grown, rice where corn only was grown, and salt where there was none. Sometimes, especially in narrow places, travellers suffered great inconvenience from these large caravans, by being forced to halt two or three days until the whole had passed by.

MANARIS: FOUR TRIBES OF OXEN-DRIVERS

The men who drove these oxen were known as Manaris.⁴⁰ They were a race of nomads, who lived by transporting merchandise, carrying their wives and children with them, and dwelling only in tents. Some had a hundred oxen, and others more or less. They were divided into four tribes, each numbering about a hundred thousand souls. The first tribe carried nothing but corn; the second, nothing but rice; the third carried pulse; and the fourth salt. Every caravan had its own chief, who assumed as much state as a Raja, and wore a chain of pearls round his neck. When the caravan

⁴⁰ These hereditary carriers were also known as Brinjarries, and were largely employed by the English during the wars against Tippu Sultan of Mysore.

that carried the corn happened to meet the caravan that carried the salt, they frequently engaged in bloody frays rather than yield the way. The Emperor Aurangzeb considered that these quarrels were prejudicial to trade, as well as to the transport of provisions. Accordingly, he sent for the chiefs of the caravans of corn and salt, and exhorted them for the common good and their own interest not to quarrel and fight, and gave to each of them a lakh of rupees and a chain of pearls.

CASTE MARKS OF THE FOUR TRIBES

The four tribes of Manaris were distinguished from each other by certain marks on their foreheads, which were made by their priests. Those of the first tribe had a red mark about the size of a crown stuck with grains of wheat; those of the second tribe had a yellow mark stuck with rice; and those of the third tribe had a grey mark stuck with millet. Those of the fourth tribe carried a great lump of salt round their necks in a bag. Sometimes the salt weighed as much as nine or ten pounds, for the heavier it was the more they gloried in carrying it; and every morning, before they said their prayers, they thumped their stomachs with this bag as a sign of repentance.

RELIGION OF THE MANARIS

All four tribes carried a little silver box, like a relic box, hanging to their necks, in which they enclosed a little sacred writing which the priests gave them. They also tied similar writings to their oxen and other cattle, whom they loved as tenderly as children, especially if they had no children of their own. The women wore only a piece of calico, white or painted, from their waists downward. From their waists upward they cut or tattooed their skin in the form of flowers, and dyed them in several colours with the juice of grapes, so that they actually represented flowers.

WORSHIP OF THE SERPENT

Every morning, while the men loaded their beasts and the women folded up the tents, the priests set up a certain idol in the form of a serpent in wreaths, upon a perch six or seven feet high. The people then came up in files to worship the serpent, the women going three times round the idol. When the ceremony was over, the priests took charge of the idol, and loaded it upon an ox especially appointed for the purpose.

CARAVANS OF WAGGONS

The caravan of waggons comprised from one to two hundred of these vehicles. Each wagon was drawn by ten or twelve oxen, and attended by four soldiers, who were hired by the

person to whom the merchandise belonged. Two soldiers marched on either side of the waggon, holding on by two ropes thrown across the waggon, so as to keep it from overturning in rough places.

POVERTY OF TAVERNIER'S DETAILS

The remaining information which Tavernier supplies respecting India is of a poor character. He had no education or refinement, and his observation and judgment were chiefly confined to matters of money or trade. He saw more of India than perhaps any other traveller in the seventeenth century, but he has little to say that is worth remembering. He furnishes many details respecting native manufactures at different localities, but in the present day they are obsolete and devoid of interest. His anecdotes are childish and tedious or else offensive or revolting. He tells many stories of widows who had burnt themselves alive with their deceased husbands; of Hindu mendicants and Muhammadan fakirs; of elephants, monkeys, peacocks, tigers, and serpents. He is often minute in his descriptions of pagodas, tanks, and tombs. But he is dull and egotistical, without the common sense of Terry or the cultivated curiosity of Della Valle.

THEVENOT, 1666

M. DE THEVENOT was a traveller of a far higher stamp. He was a French gentleman of family, who had finished his education at the University of Paris. He landed at Surat in January 1666, being in the thirty-fourth year of his age. He only remained a year in India, but throughout his narrative he shows himself to have been a thoughtful and observant looker-on.⁴¹

CUSTOM-HOUSE AT SURAT

Thevenot has left a graphic picture of the custom-house at Surat, and the zeal of Mughal officials. Passengers were landed in custom-house boats, and conducted through a lane of custom-house officials, armed with bamboos, into a spacious hall where they were rigidly searched from top to toe. Thevenot's money was taken from him, counted, and then returned to him, minus a duty of two and a half per cent. His luggage was rigidly searched in like manner, but no merchandise could be found. Otherwise, as a Christian, he would have had to pay a duty of four per cent. on the value; whilst Hindu merchants, being idolaters, paid a duty of five per cent.

JOURNEY TO GUJARAT: REPORTED CANNIBALS

Some days afterwards, Thevenot engaged a coach and oxen,

⁴¹ *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot*. Translated into English by A. Lovell. Folio. London. 1687.

and left Surat on a trip northwards into Gujarat. Part of the country between Broach and Ahmadabad was a nest of robbers. At one town the people were said to have been cannibals; and he was assured that not many years before man's flesh had been sold in the markets. This was probably the part of Gujarat where Jehangir carried out the wholesale executions which he describes in his memoirs.

WANDERING KOLIES

During this journey Thevenot met a great number of Kolies.⁴² They belonged to a caste or tribe who had no fixed habitations, but wandered from village to village, carrying all their goods and chattels with them. Their chief business was to pick cotton and clean it, and when they had finished their work in one village they went on to another, and so passed away their lives.

HINDU TEMPLE TURNED INTO A MOSQUE

At Ahmadabad Thevenot saw a Hindu temple which Aurangzeb had converted into a mosque. The ceremony of transformation was performed by killing a cow within the precincts of the temple, a pollution which prevented any Hindu from worshipping there for the future. All round the temple was a cloister with lovely cells, beautified with figures of marble in relief, sitting crossed-legged after the Indian fashion. Thevenot described them as naked women, but most probably they were Jain saints. Aurangzeb caused all the noses to be broken off, as images were prohibited by the Koran. Thevenot also saw the hospitals for birds and animals described by Della Valle.

GRATIATES OR GRASSIAS

Thevenot returned to Surat *via* Cambay. He might have gone from Cambay to Surat by sea, but all small vessels were liable to be captured by the Malabar pirates. Accordingly he proceeded by land, but that way was infested by robbers known as Gratiates.

CHARANS: THEIR SACRED CHARACTER

Thevenot's friends advised him to hire a Charan man and woman to accompany him along the road until he was out of danger. These Charans were a caste of bards, who were much respected by the Rajputs. Whoever caused the death of a Charan was turned out of his caste, and treated as infamous and degraded beyond redemption. A Charan man and woman, when engaged to attend a traveller, protected him

⁴² The Kolies or Coolies are also noted thieves. The Portuguese applied the name to the lowest class of labourers, who to this day are known as Coolies.

by threatening to kill themselves if any harm befell him.

THEVENOT DISDAINS TO ENGAGE A CHARAN

Thevenot believed that Charans had carried out this threat in former times, but that the practice had fallen into disuse, and that Charans compounded with the Gratiates by dividing the money they received from the traveller. The Banians still made use of Charans, and Thevenot might have hired them for two rupees a day, but he could not bring himself to stoop to such a mean protection. Accordingly he told his coachman to drive on, and prepared to run all risks. At one place a Gratiata called on the coachman to stop, and by making an outcry would have induced others to join him, but he was easily satisfied by the payment of some coppers.

RAJA OF THE GRATIATES

A little way farther a toll of half a rupee was collected from all travellers by the Raja of the Gratiates. In return, the Raja answered for all robberies committed within his territories. Indeed the Raja did his best to prevent all robberies, and he caused all stolen things to be restored, especially goods belonging to merchants. The same Raja levied ten rupees a man on all caravans between Surat and Agra; but in return he gave the merchants a feast, entertained them with dancing girls, and sent a body of horsemen to guard them so long as they remained under his jurisdiction. He was lord of all the villages from Cambay to Broach, and all his subjects were known as Gratiates.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Thevenot described the administration of justice in Surat, which resembled that in all Muhammadan cities. There was a Mufti or Mullah who superintended all matters that concerned the Muhammadan religion. There was a Kazi who was consulted whenever there was any dispute about the law. There was a Wakianavis, who sent reports direct to the Padishah of all that took place in the city. There was also a Kotwal and Foujdar, whose duties will be described farther on.

TWO NAWABS OF SURAT

There were two Nawabs at Surat who were independent of each other, and responsible only to the Padishah. One Nawab commanded the fortress and the other the town; and neither encroached on the rights or duties of the other.

CIVIL JUSTICE ADMINISTERED BY THE NAWAB OF THE TOWN:

CRIMINAL JUSTICE BY THE KOTWAL

The Nawab of the town was the judge in all civil matters, and generally rendered speedy justice. If a man sued another for

a debt, he had either to show an obligation, to produce two witnesses, or to take an oath. If he was a Christian he swore on the Gospels; if he were a Muhammadan he swore on the Koran; and if he were a Hindu he swore on the cow. A Hindu oath consisted in laying the hand upon a cow, and expressing a desire to eat its flesh if what he said was not true. Most Hindus, however, preferred to lose their cause rather than swear, because swearing was always regarded by them as an infamous action.

The Nawab never interfered in criminal affairs; they were all left to the Kotwal. (This officer discharged the functions of of magistrate, judge, head of the police, and superintendent of the prison; and was held generally responsible for the peace and order of the city.) He ordered criminals to be whipped or cudgelled in his presence, either in his own house or at the place where the crime had been committed. He went abroad on horseback, attended by several officers on foot, some carrying batons and great whips, others carrying lances, swords, targets, and iron maces, but every man having a dagger at his side.

CAPITAL SENTENCES RESERVED BY AURANGZEB

Neither the Nawab nor the Kotwal could put any man to death.⁴³ Aurangzeb reserved that power to himself. Therefore, whenever any man deserved death, a courier was dispatched to know the pleasure of the Padishah, and the imperial orders were put in execution immediately after the return of the courier.

PROTECTION OF THE CITY

The Kotwal paraded the streets during the night to prevent disorders, and he set guards at different places. If any man was found abroad in the streets, he was committed to prison, and rarely released without being whipped or bastinadoed. This round of duty was performed three times every night, namely, at nine o'clock in the evening at twelve o'clock at night, and at three o'clock in the morning.

KOTWAL HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL ROBBERIES

The Kotwal was answerable for all thefts committed in the town. Whenever a robbery was discovered, the Kotwal apprehended all the people of the house, young and old, and subjected them in turns to a severe beating. If at the end of five or six days no one confessed, they were all set at liberty.

⁴³ Criminal justice had been much more lax in the reign of Shah Jehan. See Mandelsto's story of the execution of dancing girls by the governor of Ahmedabad. (Ch. VI of Wheeler's *History*).

THE FOUJDAR OF THE DISTRICT

There was also a provost at Surat, who was called the Foujdar. His duty was to secure the country round about, and he was answerable for all robberies committed within a certain area outside the city.

PLUNDER OF SURAT BY SIVAJI IN 1664

Two years before Thevenot's visit to Surat the place had been plundered by Sivaji, and the memory of that four days' sack and burning was still fresh in the minds of the inhabitants. It was wonderful that such a populous city should have patiently suffered itself to be looted by a handful of men; but the Hindus were mostly cowards, and no sooner did Sivaji appear than they all fled, some to Broach, and others to the fortress. The Christians from Europe managed to protect themselves against the Mahrattas, but this was because they had planted cannon round their factories, whereas Sivaji and his Mahrattas had no artillery to bring against them.

SIVAJI'S VISIT TO DELHI, 1666

Thevenot also mentions Sivaji's visit to Delhi, and subsequent escape from the designs of Aurangzeb, which happened in 1666, the very year that Thevenot was travelling in India. He explains that Aurangzeb shrank from putting Sivaji to death because he feared an insurrection of the Rajas, who had become sureties for the performance of Aurangzeb's promises.

WILD BEASTS AND THUGS

Thevenot travelled along the once famous highway between Agra and Delhi, which was planted with trees, and extended beyond Delhi to Lahore. But he describes the road as being only tolerable, and as infested by tigers, panthers, and lions; also by certain skilful robbers, who were afterwards known as Thugs. These miscreants were the most cunning in all the world. They threw a noose with certain aim round a man's neck, and then strangled him in a trice. Sometimes they sent a handsome woman on the road, who appeared with dishevelled hair, weeping and complaining of some misfortune. A traveller was easily decoyed into a conversation with this dangerous lady, who either threw the noose and strangled him with her own hands, or else stunned him until the robbers came up and finished the business.

MALABAR COUNTRY: THE NAIR ARISTOCRACY

Thevenot furnishes some curious details respecting the Nairs of Malabar. The Nairs, he said, had a great conceit of their nobility, because they fancied themselves to be descended from the Sun. They gave place to none except the Portuguese,

and that precedence cost blood. The Portuguese Viceroy at Goa agreed with the Raja of Cochin that the question should be settled by a duel between a Portuguese man and a Nair. The Nair was overcome, and from that time the Nairs gave precedence to the Portuguese.

AVERSION OF THE NAIRS TO POLEAS

The Nairs had a strong aversion to a low-caste people known as Poleas. If a Nair felt the breath of a Polea, he fancied himself polluted, and was obliged to kill the man, and make certain ablutions in public with great ceremony. If he spared the Polea, and the matter reached the ears of the Raja, the Nair would be either put to death or sold for a slave.

DEGRADATION OF POLEAS

The Poleas in the fields were obliged to cry out "Po! Po!" incessantly, in order to give notice to any Nairs who might chance to be in the neighbourhood. If a Nair responded, the Poleas retired to a distance. No Polea was allowed to enter a town. If a Polea wanted anything he cried for it with a loud voice outside the town, and left the money at a certain place appointed for the traffic. Some merchant then brought the commodity that was called for, and took away the price of it.

FRYER, 1673-81

DR. JOHN FRYER, M.D., of the University of Cambridge, arrived in India in 1673, about six or seven years after the departure of Thevenot. He was a surgeon to the East India Company during the war between the English and Dutch; and he sailed to Madras with a fleet of ten ships which had been armed for the conveyance of treasure during the war.⁴⁴

VOYAGE TO MADRAS AND MASULIPATAM

In June 1673, after a voyage of six months from Gravesend, the fleet rounded the island of Ceylon, and sailed up the coast of Coromandal. Those on board saw the Dutch colours flying from their fortress at Sadras, about thirty miles to the south of Madras. As they approached Madras they found that a large Dutch squadron was cruising about. Accordingly, they made no attempt to land the treasure, but carried it on northward to the port of Masulipatam, where the English had established a factory.

ENGLISH FACTORY AT MASULIPATAM

In the seventeenth century the arrival of an English fleet at an English factory in India was a grand time for rejoicing. Those on board fired salutes, whilst the sailors blew their trumpets.

⁴⁴ *A New Account of East India and Persia*, by John Fryer, M.D. Cantab. Folio. Lond. 1697.

Those in the English factory displayed their flag, but they dared not return the salutes, for all the cannon they had were kept carefully concealed from the Muhammadan authorities. The town of Masulipatam belonged to the Sultan of Golkonda, and the Sultan had issued stringent orders that none of the European factories should import cannon or make war on each other within his dominions.

INDIAN BOATMEN

Next morning the treasure brought by the English fleet was safely landed at Masulipatam. The Indian boatmen who carried it away were strange objects in the eyes of Fryer. They were of a sunburnt black. Their hair was long and black, but was all shaven off excepting one lock which was kept twisted to enable their prophet, Parumal, to haul them into heaven. They wore nothing but a clout of calico girt about the middle with a sash; but they all had golden rings in their ears.

ENGLISH-SPEAKING INDIANS

Other Indians soon appeared on board in a more stylish garb. These were men of business of a superior rank to the boatmen. They wore a head-dress of calico coiled turban fashion, and light vests and long loose trousers, with a sash about the waist. They offered their services for a small wage, to wait on any of the passengers on board, or to execute their affairs. They all spoke English, and told all the news; but in order to understand what was going on it will be necessary to explain the general state of affairs on the coast of Coromandal.

HINDU KINGDOMS SOUTH OF THE KISTNA:

CONQUESTS OF THE SULTAN OF GOLKONDA

The port of Masulipatam, immediately to the northward of the Kistna river, had belonged to the Sultans of Golkonda for nearly two centuries. But the region to the southward of the river was in the hands of Hindu Rajas, and the Sultans had only recently extended their conquests in that direction. The reigning Sultan attacked the English settlement at Madras, but was baffled by the cannon of Fort St. George. He, however, captured the Portuguese settlement at St. Thome, and carried away all the cannon, whilst the Portuguese took refuge in Fort St. George.

FRENCH CAPTURE ST. THOME

At this crisis a French fleet appeared off the coast of Coromandal, captured St. Thome from the Sultan of Golkonda, and held it for two or three years. The consequence was that there was war between the French and the Sultan, and the

Dutch fleet was preparing to help the Sultan against the French at St. Thome.

FRENCH MAKE WAR ON THE SULTAN

The news that Fryer heard from the English-speaking Indians at Masulipatam was that the French had captured four Muhammadan ships in the roads, and burnt four others; and that the French had also compelled some Dutch factories on the Coromandal coast to supply them with provisions and other necessities.

LANDING AT MASULIPATAM. FORTRESS AND TOWN

John Fryer went on shore in a country boat, carrying a single sail, and resembling a large barge. He was paddled over the bar without much trouble, but he says that the noise of the waves was as deafening as the cataracts of the Nile.

Within the bar was still water. John Fryer saw a rude fortress of mud belonging to the Sultan, which was mounted with ten great guns; and several Muhammadan junks were riding at anchor under the protection of the guns. About a bowshot off was the town of Masulipatam. It was environed with a mud wall, entrenched with a stinking morass, and partly moated by the sea. There were two banktolls, or custom-house quays; but they were mean in appearance and poorly guarded.⁴⁵

STREETS, HOUSES, PUBLIC BUILDINGS, AND BAZARS

The streets of Masulipatam were broad and the buildings lofty. The better sort of houses were made of wood and plaster. They had balconies roofed with tiles, and looking on to the streets through folded wooden windows latticed with rattans. Below was a stately gateway leading into a square court, with a tank in the centre and terrace-walks on either side. The poorer houses were like thatched beehives walled round with mud. The public buildings consisted of mosques, a custom-house, and a mean court of justice. The places of resort were three bazars, which were crowded with people and commodities.

INHABITANTS

The inhabitants of Masulipatam consisted of Muhammadans and Hindus. There were some Armenians, who carried on a correspondence with the interior. There were also Portuguese, Dutch, English, and a few Frenchmen.

MUHAMMADAN ASCENDANCY ESTABLISHED OVER THE HINDUS DURING CASTE QUARRELS

The Muhammadans had established their authority over the

⁴⁵ The bank-tolls were the places where duties or tolls were levied on all goods exported or imported by sea.

Hindus in a remarkable manner. There had been a quarrel amongst the castes. The artificers, including goldsmiths and carpenters, had been insolent to the higher castes and tyrannical towards their inferiors. The higher castes conspired with the husbandmen and labourers to degrade the artificers, and they prevailed on the Muhammadans to help them. Accordingly the artificers were reduced to the lowest grade of society, known as Halal-chors, or unclean eaters. Henceforth the artificers were not allowed to ride in palanquins at marriages and festivals, but only on horseback.⁴⁶ The Muhammadans thus took the power into their own hands, and the Hindus never attempted to recover their former liberties.

REIGNING SULTAN OF GOLKONDA

The Sultan of Golkonda was a Muhammadan, who had been raised from poverty to the throne through the influence of the chief eunuch. He resided at the city of Golkonda, fifteen days' journey to the westward. Under him the chief eunuch ordered the whole realm. He amassed great treasures, exacting every man's estate when he pleased, mulcting the wealthier classes at his own will, and squeezing the common people to penury. At the death of a grandee he had the reversion of his estate. He also derived a large revenue from the diamond mines of Golkonda.⁴⁷

ARMY OF GOLKONDA

The expenses of the Sultan were inconsiderable. His military forces were maintained by his own subjects in their respective provinces; they formed a standing army, numbering a hundred thousand horse and foot when all were brought together. The Sultan had also two hundred elephants in continual readiness, which were maintained by the farmers of his revenues. His resources were squandered on his pleasures, to which he was entirely abandoned.

MUHAMMADAN OPPRESSION OF HINDUS

The Muhammadans at Masulipatam kept a strict hand over the Hindus, intrusting them with no place of concern, and using them only as mechanics and serving-men.

⁴⁶ This curious tradition is authentic and historical. Traces of the struggle between the right and left hands amongst the lower castes are still prevalent in Southern India. The story of the marriage between the son of a gold-smith and the daughter of a Brahman is an expression of the traditional hatred against artisans.

⁴⁷ The ascendancy of eunuchs at the court of Golkonda is a significant fact. The Sultans of both Golkonda and Bijapur found themselves threatened and thwarted by the growing power of the landed nobility. At Golkonda a favourite eunuch was raised to power as a check upon the Muhammadan robles. In Bijapur a favourite Abyssinian was raised to power for the same purpose. Eunuchs and Abyssinians have often played important parts in Indian history.

PERSIAN GRANDEES

The Persians had planted themselves in Masulipatam, and got on partly by trade and partly by arms. Many had grown to be rich, but all were liable to be despoiled of their wealth. They lived in much splendour, especially priding themselves upon having a numerous retinue and handsome followers. The merchant servants of the East India Company were not behind in similar displays. The president of the factory at Masulipatam was always attended with music, banners, and umbrellas, as well as by a train of two hundred soldiers and spearmen.

FESTIVALS AND MARRIAGE PROCESSIONS

The people of Masulipatam celebrated their festivals, and especially their weddings, with much show and splendour. Marriages were commonly performed at night, with the noise of drums, trumpets, and fields. The poorest Hindu, excepting those of the proscribed caste, had a week's jollity at his marriage; going about in a palanquin, attended by guards carrying swords, targets, and javelins, whilst others bore ensigns denoting the honour of their caste. But if any artificer or low-caste man attempted the like, he was dragged back to his quarters by the hair of his head.⁴⁸

MUHAMMADAN LIFE: SECLUSION OF THE WOMEN

The Muhammadans were very grave and haughty. They took delight and pride in smoking their hookahs whilst sitting cross-legged in a great chair at their doors. They cloistered up their women from the eyes of all men. Sometimes a woman went abroad in a close palanquin, but it was death to any man to attempt to unveil her. Marriages were contrived by the parents whilst the children were young. At seven years of age the son was separated from his mother and the brother from the sister.

HINDU LIFE: FREEDOM OF THE WOMEN

The Hindus at Masulipatam had no such strictness. The women went abroad in the open air, adorned with chains and earrings, jewels in their noses, and golden rings on their toes. Their hair was long and tied up behind with a kind of coronet at the top formed of gold and jewels.

HINDU ARITHMETIC: LOCAL ART OF PAINTING CALICOES

The Hindus were clever arithmeticians. They dealt with the nicest fractions without a pen; they were much given to traffic, and were intelligent, if not fraudulent, in all trading tran-

⁴⁸ These kind of quarrels were frequent in Madras in former times, and sometimes led to bloodshed. The French settlement at Pondicherry was in like manner often the scene of similar riots.

sactions. They stained calicoes at Masulipatam in a way far superior to what was to be seen anywhere else. Little children, as well as older persons, stretched the calicoes upon the ground, and then pointed them with a dexterity and exactness peculiar to themselves. It was this skill in staining or dyeing cottons that made the port of Masulipatam so much frequented.

TIMIDITY OF THE PEOPLE: ALARM AT THE ENGLISH

The local peoples, however, were very timorous. A short time before Fryer's arrival at the port, an Englishman excited the fury of the mob in some affair about a woman. The offender fled to the English factory, but a De-roy was set upon the factory in the name of the Sultan. Under this instrument all communication was closed; no wood, water, or provisions could be carried into the factory.⁴⁹ At last the offender was induced to leave the factory, and was then torn to pieces by the mob before the factory gates. At this sight twenty-four Englishmen drew out some field-pieces, scoured the streets, and held the two bank-tolls for a whole day and night against the population of Masulipatam, numbering two hundred thousand souls. The De-roy was at last taken off, but the Indians remained in such a panic of fear, that on the arrival of the English fleet they would have abandoned the place and fled into the jungle, had they not been reassured by the English in the factory.

PUBLIC EXECUTIONS

In all capital cases at Masulipatam the criminal was put to death immediately after conviction, either by being dismembered or impaled. In cases of murder, the nearest kinsman of the murdered person was required to prosecute the murderer and execute him. He began to hack away at the murderer, and then the rabble rushed in and finished him. The grandees were put to death by poust.⁵⁰ Law disputes were soon ended; for the Nawab heard cases every morning, and delivered judgments at once with the aid of the Kazi.

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION UNDER

THE SULTANS OF GOLKONDA

Religions of every kind were tolerated at Masulipatam. There were Persians of the Shiah sect, who declared that Ali, and no one but Ali, was the rightful successor of Muhammad.

⁴⁹ The usage of placing a De-roy on a European factory or settlement was often practised under Muhammadan rule. Many instances of this way of reducing a fort or factory to submission are to be found in the old records at Madras.

⁵⁰ This poison has already been described elsewhere in Wheeler's *History* of p. 312 note.

There were Turks of the Sunni sect, who venerated all the four Khalifs. There were Hindus idolaters worshipping many household deities, but acknowledging only one true God, and adoring the others as his deified attributes. Every day after devotion the Hindus fixed a painted symbol on their foreheads. They refused to eat with any one who did not belong to their caste. They lived on roots, herbs, rice, and fruits of every kind; but they would not eat anything that had life, or anything, such as eggs, that would produce life. They would, however, drink milk, and also a preparation of boiled butter which they called ghee.

VOYAGE TO MADRAS

John Fryer stayed with the fleet a whole month at Masulipatam. At last a foot-post brought the welcome news from Madras that the Dutch fleet had been repulsed by the French, and had sailed away to Ceylon. The treasure brought from England was then re-shipped on board the English ships and carried away to Fort St. George.

ANCIENT FISHING VILLAGE

The foundation of Madras must always be regarded as an epoch in Indian history. It was the first territorial possession of the English in India. The site was a long sandy beach about four or five miles to the northward of the old Portuguese town of St. Thome. It was about six miles in length along the shore, and in breadth was about one mile inland. There were villages and towns in the neighbourhood, but on this particular sandy site there were no inhabitants whatever, except some native fishermen, who had lived in a little settlement of their own from the remotest antiquity. The fishermen were a very primitive people. They lived under a hereditary headman, and were governed by hereditary laws of the simplest type. If a fisherman got drunk he paid a fine of two fishes to the headman; and if he committed other breaches of the moral law, he was punished in like manner. The fishermen were converted to Christianity by the Portuguese Catholics of St. Thome; but to all appearances they are pursuing down to the present day the same simple and innocent lives as they did in the days of Rama.

FORT ST. GEORGE: EUROPEAN AND INDIAN SECTIONS OF THE TOWN

In 1639 the English built a fortified factory hard by this fishing village; it was known as Fort St. George. The main business of the factory was to provide stained calicoes, like those at Masulipatam, and ship them to the Eastern Archipelago in exchange for nutmegs and other spices, which in due course

were shipped to England. The English lived within the walls of Fort St. George, which was consequently known as White-town. Meanwhile, a straggling village, peopled by weavers, stainers, and petty dealers, grew up to the northward of the fort.

RENT AND REVENUE OF MADRAS

The site of Madras and Fort St. George had been purchased from a Hindu Naik, who claimed to be a representative of the old Rajas of Vijayanagar. But the Hindu Naiks on the coast of Coromandal were powerless to resist the advancing tide of Muhammadans from Golkonda. Many were swept into oblivion. The English made their peace with the Sultan of Golkonda by agreeing to pay him a yearly rental of twelve hundred pagodas, or about five or six hundred pounds in English money. This amount was covered several times over by the levy of customs on every commodity which was brought to Indian section or White-town. Indeed, the yearly revenue of Madras, from customs, ground-rents, monopoly farms, and other sources, amounted to about thirty thousand pagodas, or from twelve to fifteen thousand pounds sterling.

VICISSITUDES AT MADRAS

The trade of Madras had been prosperous. The civil war between Charles the First and his Parliament had lessened it for a while, but it improved after the restoration of Charles the Second.⁵¹ But in 1673, when John Fryer visited the place, it was in a most unpleasant predicament. The Portuguese town of St. Thome had undergone strange vicissitudes. Some ten years previously the Sultan of Golkonda had captured the place, and carried off all the Portuguese guns. The Sultan offered to restore St. Thome, but the Portuguese refused to accept it unless they got back their guns. A French fleet next appeared off the coast, and sent to St. Thome for provisions. The Muhammadan commandant refused to comply with the request. Accordingly the French brought their ships to bear upon the place, and set the Sultan of Golkonda at defiance, and finally took St. Thome by storm.

DIFFICULTIES OF SIR WILLIAM LANGHORN, GOVERNOR OF MADRAS

Sir William Langhorn, the governor of Madras, was in a dilemma. Great Britain was in alliance with France and at war with Holland. The Sultan of Golkonda called on the Dutch and English to help him to recover St. Thome from the

⁵¹ The falling-off in the Madras trade was made up during the civil war by increased sales of saltpetre, which was obtained from the neighbourhood of Patna, and brought down the Ganges and Hughli.

French. At the same time the French were requesting supplies of provisions and money from the English governor of Madras by virtue of the English alliance with France. If Sir William Langhorn assisted the Sultan of Golkonda, he violated the treaty with France which had recently been concluded at Dover between Charles the Second and Louis the Fourteenth. If he assisted the French, he violated his engagements with the Sultan of Golkonda. At one time he contemplated leaving Madras altogether, and migrating to some place farther south out of reach of either the Sultan or the French.⁵² It is, however, unnecessary to dwell upon these complications; it will suffice to show what was going on in 1673, when John Fryer arrived at Madras.

FRYER LANDS IN A MUSSULA BOAT

John Fryer was paddled over the surf in a Mussula boat. Ordinary boats fastened with nails would have been wrenched to pieces by the violence of the surf; but the planks of the Mussula boat were sewn together by cocoa-nut ropes, which yielded to the force of the waves, but let in considerable quantities of water.

DESCRIPTION OF FORT ST. GEORGE

John Fryer landed in a wet condition, but the beach was scalding hot from the burning sun, and he hastened to the shelter of the Fort. Looked at from the water, Fort St. George was a place of great strength. It was oblong, about four hundred yards in length from north to south, and one hundred yards from east to west. There was a bastion at each corner of the walls mounted with guns, and the banner of St. George waved bravely over the whole. The streets inside were sweet and clean. The houses were about forty or fifty in number; and every house had an Italian portico, battlements on the roof, and a terrace walk; and there were rows of trees before the doors. There were no public structures within the fortress, except the governor's house in the centre, and a small chapel where the Portuguese celebrated mass.

EXTENSIVE POWERS OF SIR WILLIAM LANGHORN

Sir William Langborn was governor of Madras, but in those days Madras was the chief settlement of the English in the Eastern seas, and consequently his jurisdiction extended to Bengal. In mercantile phrase he was superintendent over all the English factories on the coast of Coromandal and the banks of the Hughli and Ganges, as far as Patna.⁵³ He had a mint at

⁵² Madras Records.

⁵³ The English had no settlement at Calcutta for some years after Fryer left India.

Madras with privileges of coining. He had appointed English justices at Madras, with power of life and death over the Indian population, but not over the king's liege people of England. His personal guard consisted of three or four hundred Indians, besides a band of fifteen hundred ready to serve when occasion required. He never went abroad without fifes, drums, trumpets, and a flag with two balls on a rod field; and at such times he was accompanied by his council and factors on horseback, and their ladies in palanquins.

ENGLISH AND PORTUGUESE POPULATION OF FORT ST. GEORGE.

The English population of White-town scarcely numbered three hundred souls. The Portuguese population of White-town numbered three thousand; for they had taken refuge in Fort St. George when driven out of St. Thome some ten years previously, and were welcomed at the time as adding to the security and prosperity of the settlement.

DESCRIPTION OF INDIAN SECTION OF THE TOWN

The Indian section of the town was distributed into long streets crossed by others. There were choultries, or places for the administration of justice; an exchange for merchants and money-changers; and one temple enclosed in large stone wall, with different chapels for the several castes. One part of the temple was closed up with arches and kept continually shut: and here it was said that many Indians kept their treasures. Other chambers were open; they were smaller, with flat roofs, having planks of stone laid across, like the wooden planks laid on rafters in English houses. There were hieroglyphics along the cornices, and indecent images sculptured on the walls. The outsides were wrought round with monstrous effigies, and the gates were the highest part of the buildings.

INDIAN POPULATION: THIRTY THOUSAND HINDUS TO FORTY MUHAMMADANS

The Indian population of Madras was of the same mixed character as at Masulipatam. The Hindus, however, were not under the bondage of the Muhammadans; they were protected by the English, who commanded the whole country within the reach of their guns. The East India Company had thirty thousand Hindus in their employ at Madras, whilst there were hardly forty Muhammadans in the whole settlement.

SURROUNDING COUNTRY

The country round about Madras was sandy, yet plentiful in provisions. Rice was grown without the town, and was nourished by the letting in of water. The English also had

many gardens, where they grew gourds of all sorts for stews and pottage, herbs for salad, flowers, including jessamine, and fruits of many kinds. There were topes of plantains, cocoanuts, guavas, jack fruit, mangoes, plums, and pomegranates.

GROVES OF BETEL

There were also groves of betel, consisting of green and slender trees about twelve or fourteen feet high, jointed like canes, spreading boughs. The betel-tree brought forth clusters of green nuts, like walnuts in green shells; but the fruit was different, being hard when dried, and looking like nutmegs. The Indians chewed the betel-nut with a lime made of calcined oyster-shells, called chunam. The nut and chunam were wrapped up in a leaf known as areka. Thus mixed, the betel-nut, chunam, and areka leaf formed the Indian entertainment called pan.⁵⁴

POLICY OF THE SULTAN OF GOLKONDA

John Fryer had his own views respecting the political complications at St. Thome. He was at first surprised that a potent sovereign, like the Sultan of Golkonda, should permit the forts on his coast, such as Madras, St. Thome, and some others, to be garrisoned by foreigners. Subsequently he saw that the Sultan of Golkonda, like all princes in India, was weak at sea. It was, therefore, wise policy on the Sultan's part to commit the strongholds on the coast to the charge of those European settlers whom he called his friends, as thereby the foreigners would defend his dominions from invasion, and also furnish places of retreat in the event of his being defeated by the Mughal.⁵⁵

HINDU WORSHIP AT MADRAS

Fryer witnessed the same kind of Hindu ceremonies at Madras as those described by Della Valle; but he expressed surprise that a people, so apt as the Hindus were in all that pertained to profit and gain, should never have advanced one step out of the rudiments of the religion and civilisation of the ancient world, but continue to practise the old worship of Pan, Ceres, and Flora.

⁵⁴ Pan and betel are familiar terms to every European in India. Pan is served up at the close of every reception of Indians. It is supposed to strengthen the digestion, to stimulate the system like tobacco, and to sweeten the breath; but the red liquor colours the teeth, pervades the saliva, and oozes out between the lips. It is accordingly a most unsightly practice in the eyes of Europeans, and especially destructive to the ideal of Oriental beauty.

⁵⁵ Fryer was no doubt correct in his conclusions, but it would have been a most unpleasant complication for the English if the Sultans of Golkonda or Bijapur had condescended to take refuge at Madras when pressed at a later period by the armies of Aurangzeb.

BOMBAY HARBOUR

In October 1673 John Fryer left Madras in the English fleet, and coasted round Cape Comorin and north-ward along Malabar, towards the new English settlement at Bombay. The harbour at Bombay was a magnificent expanse of water, capable of containing a thousand of the best ships in Europe. As the English fleet sailed towards Bombay Castle, Fryer saw three Mughal men of war, each of three hundred tons burden, besides many smaller vessels. There were also three English men of war, with pennants at every yard-arm.

WEAKNESS OF BOMBAY UNDER THE PORTUGUESE

Bombay, poor as it was when Fryer saw it, was already a very different place from what it had been under the Portuguese. When the English took possession there was a Government House, pleasantly situated in the midst of a garden with terrace walks and bowers, but very poorly fortified. Four brass guns were mounted on the house, and a few small pieces were lodged in convenient towers to keep off the Malabar pirates. But there was no protection for the people. The Malabars often ravaged the coasts, plundered the villages, and carried off the inhabitants into hopeless slavery.

ENGLISH FORTIFICATIONS

The English speedily effected an entire change. They loaded the terraces with cannon, and built ramparts over the bowers. When John Fryer landed, ten years after the British occupation, Bombay Castle was mounted with a hundred and twenty pieces of ordnance, whilst sixty field-pieces were in readiness. A few months before his arrival the Dutch had attacked Bombay, but were forced to retire to their boats without any booty whatever.

UNHEALTHINESS OF BOMBAY

Bombay, however, was so unhealthy that John Fryer describes it as a charnel-house. The site was unwholesome and the air was bad. The evils were aggravated by the intemperance of the English settlers. English wives were sent out, but their children turned out poor and weakly.

VISIT TO SURAT

From Bombay John Fryer proceeded northwards to Surat. Here he remained several months, and saw much of the ways and condition of the people. Surat had been much changed since Della Valle's visit. The town swarmed with Fakirs, and there were evidences on all sides of the intolerant rule of Aurangzeb, as contrasted with the lax toleration which prevailed in the reign of Jehangir.

CHRISTIANS INSULTED BY MUHAMMADAN BEGGARS

No Christian could appear in the streets of Surat in good clothes, or mounted on a proper horse, without being assailed by Muhammadan beggars,—bold, lusty, and often drunken. These pious rascals inquired loudly of the Almighty why he suffered them to go on foot in rags and allowed Christian Kafirs to go on horseback in rich attire. Sometimes they would run a “muck”; that is, rush out sword in hand and kill all they met, until they were killed themselves. They were especially ready to commit such violent actions if they had been sanctified by a pilgrimage to Mecca. However, Christians had small ground of complaint, for rich Muhammadans were often persecuted in like manner by these noisy knaves.

MUHAMMADAN MERCHANTS:

THEIR HOUSES AND COURTESIES

The Muhammadan merchants at Surat lived in lofty houses, flat at the top, and terraced with plaster. Glass was dear, and could only be obtained from the Venetians *via* Constantinople. The windows were mostly folding-doors, screened with lattices or isinglass, or more commonly oyster-shells. The Mughals wore rich attire, with a poniard at their girdle. They were neat in apparel and grave in carriage. They were courteous to strangers, receiving them at the doorway, and ushering into a court or choultry, spread with carpets, and open to some tank of purling water. There they took off their shoes, made the usual salam, and took their seats, having long velvet cushions to bolster their back and sides.

HINDU BANIAN: AFFECTED POVERTY

The Banians, or Hindu brokers, lived in a different fashion. They affected no stately houses, but dwelt in sheds. Even the richest crowded together, three or four families in a hovel, with goats, cows, and calves, until they were almost poisoned with vermin and nastiness. But they had reason for what they did. Any Banian suspected of being rich was certain to be deprived of his wealth by the Nawab of Surat, unless he had secured the protection of some powerful grandee.

MUHAMMADAN FAKIRS

The Muhammadan Fakirs were the pest of the country. Aurangzeb, the reigning Mughal, had lived for some years as a Fakir before he came to the throne, and he was said to favour the order. The Fakirs were supposed to be holy men, who were abstracted from the world and resigned to God; on this pretence they committed various extravagances and performed strange penances. One Fakir vowed that he would hang by his heels until he had collected money enough to

build a mosque. Another travelled about the country on an ox, with a horn blowing before him, and a man fanning him with a peacock's tail. As he went he rattled a great chain fastened to his foot to proclaim his necessities; and the poorest Hindus gave their alms, otherwise they might be accused before the Kazi of having blasphemed Muhammad, from which there was no escape except by paying a large ransom or becoming a Muhammadan.

VAGABOND LIVES OF THE FAKIRS

Most of the Fakirs were vagabonds. Some lived in gardens and retired places in the fields, like the seers of old and the children of the prophets. They professed poverty, but took what they pleased wherever they went. During the heat of the day they idled away their time under shady trees; at night they entered the town in troops, and collected alms more like robbers than beggars. Merchants who had been successful in their ventures would often bestow their bounty on the Fakirs. Sometimes the holy men demanded alms of bazar dealers and shopkeepers, or rushed out in the streets and bawled for a hundred rupees, and refused to be satisfied with less money.

GRANDEUR OF THE NAWAB OF SURAT; DEFIED BY THE FAKIRS

The Nawab of Surat was a great man. Every morning he went in state to his judgment-seat attended by three hundred footmen carrying firearms, three elephants, forty horses, and four and twenty banners. He was always accompanied by the Kazi to assist in law points, and he too had a large train. Moreover, the approach of the Nawab was always heralded with loud trumpets and thundering kettle-drums. Yet with all this pomp and authority the Nawab was unable to curb the Fakirs. Sometimes the Fakirs formed themselves into an army, delivered offenders from the hands of justice, and could hardly be restrained from breaking out into open rebellion.

OPPRESSIONS OF THE NAWAB AND HIS SOLDIERY

The poorer inhabitants of Surat were entirely at the mercy of the Nawab and his solidiers. Any craftsman might be pressed into his service, and compelled either to work without wages or to get off by payment of a fine.

GENERAL FEAR OF THE MAHRATTAS

At the time of Fryer's visit the remains of Sivaji's fury were still to be seen at Surat. The inhabitants were in hourly fear of the Mahrattas, and were collecting a hundred thousand rupees with the hope of quieting Sivaji until their walls were finished. They had seven hundred men to guard the walls of the town, besides European gunners at every one of the six gates. There were also thirty-six bastions, each mounted

with half-a-dozen guns. The top of every bastion was guarded with spiked timber to annoy any one who attempted to scale it. Every gate was also barbed with iron spikes to break the rushing in of elephants.

ARMY OF THE NAWAB OF SURAT

The Nawab of Surat had a force of fifteen hundred men in pay, armed with matchlocks, swords, and javelins. He also had two hundred horsemen, with quivers full of arrows at the bows of their saddles, lances at their right stirrup, swords of an unwieldy bulk, and bucklers hanging over their shoulders.

MUGHAL SHIPPING

The Mughal shipping lay pretty close together in the Surat river. Some of the vessels were more than a thousand tons burden. Altogether there were more than a hundred good ships, besides smaller vessels. All these vessels were built for the Mughals by English shipwrights, who were driven by poverty to undertake the work. One of them received a just reward. He tried to smuggle some goods through the custom-house, but was detected by the Mughal officers and flogged most unmercifully.

TIMIDITY OF THE MUGHALS AT SEA

But although the Mughals procured ships, they dared not venture out to sea without European passes and pilots.⁵⁶ Some of their ships carried thirty or forty pieces of cannon, but it was more for show than service. Besides merchantmen, there were three or four men of war as big as English third rates. There were also frigates fit to row or sail, made with prows instead of beaks, but they were more useful in creeks and rivers than on the open sea. Aurangzeb had also four great ships in constant pay to carry pilgrims to Mecca passage free.

MUGHAL VICEROY OF GUJARAT; TROUBLED BY KOLIS, MAHRATTAS, AND RAJPUTS

The port of Surat was included in the province of Gujarat. Muhammad Amin Khan was Viceroy of the province. He was the son of Amir Jumla, who established Aurangzeb on the throne. His metropolis was not at Surat, but at Ahmadabad. He had vast forces, wealth, and territories, but he could not prevent the Kolis from pilfering,⁵⁷ nor Sivaji from plundering, nor the Rajput outlaws from harassing the country. He could

⁵⁶ Fryer says that the Mughals found it necessary to carry European passes. Portuguese, Dutch, and English all sold passes, under which the Mughal ships were secured from the attacks of all ships belonging to the respective nations. Unfortunately these passes would not secure the Mughal ships from the attacks of pirates.

⁵⁷ The Kols or Coolies, have already been described by Thevenot.

have beaten them all in a pitched battle, but they thwarted him by surprise and thievery; not a kafila or convoy was safe without a guard of soldiers. But for these dangers Surat might have been the greatest emporium in the world.

BIGOTRY OF AURANGZEB

The religious bigotry of Aurangzeb was abundantly manifested at Surat. He interfered in the Muharram, when the Shiahhs mourned over the slaughter of Ali, and his two sons Hasan and Husain. He did not suppress the ceremonial, but he sought to reduce it to a form of pious respect, so that unbelievers should not think that Muhammadans were inclined to heathen rites. At the same time he strove to bring the Hindus over to the worship of the Koran. He had already begun to raise two severe poll-taxes, compelling the Brahmans to pay a gold rupee a head, and lower castes the same in proportion.⁵⁸ Some Rajas had already begun to revolt, and the Hindus at Surat were beginning to fly to the English town of Bombay, or to one or other of the Portuguese settlements. This timidity of the Hindus was surprising, for they outnumbered the Mughal troops a thousand to one; and had they only united to resist the Mughal authority they might have set Aurangzeb at defiance.

RETURN TO BOMBAY

In 1675 John Fryer left Surat for Bombay. Here he paid the visit to Junnar. A few personal details may be added, which throw farther light upon Mughal and Mahratta times.

FRYER ATTENDS THE NAWAB OF JUNNAR:

THE PUBLIC AUDIENCE

The Nawab of the city of Junnar required the services of John Fryer for one of the ladies of his harem. Fryer journeyed to the fortress, and was received with great state. The Nawab was seated on a kind of throne, bolstered up with embroidered cushions. All his chief officers were standing on his right hand. He was smoking a silver hookah with much pomp and circumstance, whilst his sword and buckler lay before him, and a page carried his bow and arrows. The floor was spread with a soft bed supported by silver pedestals. Fryer took off his shoes, made his salam, presented his credentials, and was received at the left hand of the Nawab. Fryer expected to be ushered into the presence of his patient, but he was told that he must wait for a lucky day. Two singing men then chanted the praises of the Nawab, and the assembly was dismissed by the presentation of pan.

⁵⁸ A gold rupee or mohur was equal to about sixteen rupees.

WEAK DEFENCES AGAINST SIVAJI

Fryer had a poor opinion of the defences of Junnar. It appeared to him that the Mughals at Junnar were encamped rather than fortified. If Sivaji advanced against them in any force, they either took to flight or joined the army under the Mughal general, Bahadur Khan, who commanded the Mughal army in that quarter.

VISIT TO THE NAWAB'S HAREM

At last a fortunate day arrived for seeing the patient. John Fryer was conducted into the women's quarters. He was led through a long dark entry into an open court, where he saw a bed hung round with curtains. He was told to put his hand under the curtains and feel the wrist of his patient. He did as he was told, but found a pulse healthy and regular, and accordingly declared that there was nothing the matter with the patient. It turned out that the attendants had tested his medical skill by placing a healthy female slave in the bed. The matter was explained, and Fryer was then permitted to feel the pulse of the sick lady. He found her weak and languid, and relieved her by bleeding.

UNEXPECTED DISCLOSURES

Next day another lady wanted to be bled. John Fryer was again conducted to the open court, but instead of a bed there was a curtain drawn across the whole court, as if to hide a distinguished audience. Presently a female arm was thrust through a hole in the curtain, but the curtain gave way and fell to the ground, and a large bevy of ladies appeared before the eyes of the English doctor. No one ran away, but the ladies veiled their faces with their hands, and peeped at Fryer between their fingers. Parings of fruit were lying about, as well as pieces of needle-work, and Fryer inferred that the ladies had been engaged in ordinary household occupations.

CAUSE OF THE LONG MAHRATTA WARS

Fryer soon grew intimate with the Nawab of Junnar, and discussed questions of trade and politics. The Nawab cared nothing for trade; his only anxiety was that there should be no peace with the Mahrattas, and all the Mughal generals shared this feeling. So long as the war lasted a Mughal army would be maintained in the Dekhan, and every Mughal general would draw pay for troops that only existed on paper, and would receive rich presents from the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda. Peace with Sivaji would put a stop to all these gains, and thus it was that Aurangzeb never came to terms with the Mahrattas.

BRAHMAN CONVERT

Subsequently Fryer left the town of Junnar, and paid a visit to the Nawab of the fortress. This man was a converted Brahman who had been promoted by Aurangzeb, and was notorious for his grasping avarice. Sivaji was anxious to recover the fortress from the Mughals, because he had been born there, and he offered an enormous bribe to the ex-Brahman to deliver up the place. The terms were accepted, the money was paid, and seven thousand of Sivaji's men marched up the hill to take possession. But Sivaji was deceived; the ex-Brahman was faithless to his engagement, and the seven thousand Mahrattas were cut off by an ambuscade.

INDIAN ARMIES

The garrison of the fortress of Junnar was composed indifferently of Hindus as well as Mughals; and such was the case with all Indian armies, Mahratta as well as Mughal. The only question was that of salt or pay; and one and all were expected to be true to their salt. Pay might be many months in arrears, and the officers had many pickings before it reached the common soldiers, but loyalty to the salt was the ruling sentiment in Indian armies.

DESOLATIONS OF MUGHALS AND MAHRATTAS

The whole country between Junnar and Bombay was desolate in the extreme. The people were so harassed by Mughals and Mahrattas that they were afraid to sow their grain, not knowing who would reap the harvest. They were so exposed to attacks from marauding parties that they frequently deserted their houses and fled to caves and jungles. The coolies who carried John Fryer's luggage were much struck with the wretchedness and misery of the inhabitants, and compared it with the happiness which they enjoyed under British rule.

KARWAR: MAHRATTA OPPRESSION

Soon after John Fryer's return to Bombay, he made a voyage to Karwar, to the southward of Goa. The country had formerly belonged to the Muhammadan Sultan of Bijapur, but had been recently conquered by Sivaji. The English had built a fortified factory at Karwar, and kept all parties in awe by reason of their cannon. The cruel exactions of Mahratta rule were patent on all sides. The Brahman officials tortured the revenue farmers, and the farmers tortured the cultivators. But these extortionate practices were universal throughout India. The great fish preyed upon the little ones, until the poorer classes were brought into eternal bondage. Free-booters and outlaws plundered the villagers of all that remained; and there

was no protection whatever for the hapless inhabitants of Karwar excepting under cover of the English guns.

VOYAGE TO GOA

Whilst at Karwar John Fryer made a voyage to Goa. On entering Goa river, there were many stately churches, and the waters were alive with boat-racing and other pastimes; but the inhabitants gave themselves up to idleness, whilst ships from Europe were rotting from want of cargoes. The city abounded in churches, monasteries, and colleges, but some of the houses were falling into decay. John Fryer paid a visit to the palace of the Viceroy, and saw a long gallery hung round with pictures of all the Viceroys that had been in India. The great man was going with his council to the Church of Misericord, where a pious comedy was to be performed; but neither Fryer nor his companions cared to be present at such tedious representations.

INQUISITION, TORTURE, BURNING AND BRANDING

Near the palace stairs, John Fryer saw the sessions-house, the bloody prison of the Inquisition. There was a large engine in the market-place, with a pulley and a top like a gibbet, which unhinged a man's joints with cruel torture. Over against the stairs was an island, where all who were condemned by the Inquisition were brought to be burned, dressed up in horrid shapes like imps and devils. John Fryer saw a number of wretches, branded as wizards, who had been released to work at the powder-mills. They were dressed in yellow garments without sleeves, having a hole for the neck, and a red cross before and behind.

GOA AND THE PORTUGUESE INHABITANTS

Goa was an Indian Venice. The principal buildings were churches and convents, but the laity had some handsome mansions built of stone. The streets were paved, and were cleaner than the tops of the houses, where all the refuse was deposited. The Portuguese lived with a splendid outside, taking a great pride in the number of their slaves, walking under a street of umbrellas, and always bare-headed, so as to avoid giving offence by not removing their hats. They were very jealous of their honour, and never pardoned an affront. To ogle a lady of quality in a balcony could only be avenged by blood. To pass a Fidalgo without due reverence was punished with a severe beating.

THE CLERGY

The clergy at Goa affected little outward state. They mostly went about in couples. They saluted a Father by kissing the hem of his garment, and then begged for a benediction.

KANARESE INHABITANTS

The mass of the people of Goa were Kanarese, but Portuguese in speech and manner. They paid great obeisance to a white man, always giving the way with a cringe and a civil salute, out of fear of a blow.

GOA LADIES, JEWELS, AND DRESS

The women of Goa, both white and black, were kept in seclusion, and never went abroad without veils. Within doors the rich ladies of quality were hung with jewels and rosaries of gold and silver. They wore gold ornaments about their arms, necklaces of pearl about their necks, lockets of diamonds in bodkins for their hair, pendants in their ears, a thin half-smock reaching to their waist, a thin petti-coat below, very rich slippers, but no stockings.

MANNERS AND OCCUPATION

Some of the Portuguese ladies had fine features and perfect shapes, but had been brought up in such close retirement that they were unfit for conversation, and gave their whole time to devotion and household cares. They sang and played on the lute, and they made confections and pickled mangoes. They dressed meat exquisitely, and made it easy of digestion. They served up soups, pottages, and varieties of stews in little china dishes, and in half-a-dozen different ways. If a stranger dined with the husband, and the wife sat at the table, nothing would please the lady unless the guest tasted of every dish.

MANCHET, WAX, ARRACK, AND PUNCH

The finest manchet in the world was made at Goa; so was the finest virgin wax for tapers.⁵⁹ The best arrack was also made there, with which the English made that enervating liquor "punch," so called from the Hindusthani word "panch," signifying five; for "punch" consisted of five ingredients, namely, water, sugar, limes, arrack, and spices.

TELEGRAPHS

The approach of ships to Goa was telegraphed by the outguards in a peculiar fashion. The king's ensign was spread, and then as many baskets were hoisted on poles as there were ships in the offing. This sign was received by the next appointed watch, and so passed on successively until it reached the city.

OLD GOA

Fryer paid a visit to Old Goa, which was about three miles off. It was seated in a bay, and was a place of still retirement rather than of noisy commerce. The trade had stolen away to New Goa. The rich people who remained in the old city

⁵⁹ Manchet was a superior kind of white bread made in little rolls.

cared nothing for traffic, whilst the poor were content to live by fishing and other trifling pursuits. Old Goa abounded with wealthy inhabitants, whose rural palaces were immured in groves and gardens, refreshed and cooled with tanks and rivulets, and always presented a graceful front to the street. It was Christmas time, and the streets were adorned with triumphal arches and pompous pageants. Palanquins passed as frequently as at New Goa. The people were quite as polite, and much less pestered with drunken comrades, such as soldiers, seamen, and Russians.

MAHRATTA NEIGHBOURS

Sivaji, the Mahratta, had proved very troublesome to Goa. He had conquered Karwar and the low country to the south from the Sultan of Bijapur; and the Portuguese found that the Mahrattas were worse neighbours than the Muhammadans. The Mahrattas cut off the trade in diamonds, timber, and firewood. They straitened the Portuguese for butcher's meat, for the Muhammadans had no scruples on the subject, whilst the Mahrattas would rather kill a man than suffer a beast to be slaughtered. Above all, the neighbourhood of Sivaji's army created frequent alarms at Goa, especially as the recruits from Europe were very few. Indeed, John Fryer foresaw that the Catholic padres would soon have to fight as well as pray, for at Goa there were far more priests than soldiers.⁶⁰

PILGRIMAGE TO GOKURN

Fryer returned from Goa to Karwar, and subsequently paid a visit to a celebrated Brahman university at Gokurn, to the southwards. Gokurn was about as far from Karwar as Karwar was from Goa. It was a university of Brahmans, with innumerable temples, but all except two were falling in ruins. Every temple had a dark cell at the farther end, where an idol was set up with lights continually burning before it. Gokurn was renowned for its sanctity, and the Brahmans there reaped a large harvest at festival times. Every pilgrim was supposed to accumulate so many religious merits from the pilgrimage that indolaters flocked to Gokurn from all parts of India.

SIGHTS AT GOKURN: ABSENCE OF ALL ANNALS

Fryer saw naked Yogis, processions of idols with Brahmans and dancing girls, women fanning idols, and men running about and cudgelling themselves as if they were possessed by demons. But he could learn nothing of the annals of the

⁶⁰ The predictions of Fryer were subsequently fulfilled. Before the reign of Aurangzeb was brought to a close, battalions of priests were brought into action. See Wheeler's *History*, Ch. VII.

temples nor of their founders. Nothing was certain except that the destroying hand of time and the invasions of the Muhammadans had worked their ruin. Gokurn was an important university, but it could not boast of a Bodleian or a Vatican. Their libraries were old manuscripts of their own Cabalas, or mysteries, understood only by the Brahmans.

LIFE OF THE BRAHMANS AT GOKURN

There was no collegiate confinement at Gokurn. The Brahmans lived in pretty neat houses, plastered with cow-dung, where they lived with their wives and families. One Brahman alone led a life of celibacy. He was the head of the tribe, and was attended by many young men covered with ashes, as well as by grave Brahmans. They lived a reserved life, which they spent in prayers and abstinence. They did not count their prayers by beads, like the others, but by cowries and sea-shells.

INDIA IN 1676

Fryer left India in 1676 and went on a voyage to Persia. At this period, Aurangzeb was watching the progress of affairs amongst the Afghans and Usbeks, and maintaining a large army on the confines of Kandahar. Consequently he was unable to give his attention to the affairs of the Dekhan, and was content to leave a flying army of forty thousand horse and a host of foot to overawe the Dekhan and the Peninsula, under the command of Bahadur Khan.

BIJAPUR AND GOLKONDA

The Muhammadan kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda were distracted by civil dissensions, but were as yet unconquered by the Mughal. Bahadur Khan might easily have deposed the reigning Sultans and annexed their territories to the Mughal empire, but, like other Mughal generals of the period, he received large bribes from both courts, and amused Aurangzeb by desultory wars both with them and the Mahrattas. So long as a grand army was maintained in the Dekhan, so long the Mughal generals profited by the presents they received from the enemy, and the pay which they drew from the imperial treasury for levies which only existed on paper. But the conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda, and the conclusion of a peace with Sivaji, would have put an immediate stop to their illicit gains.

SIVAJI, THE MAHRATTA

Meanwhile Sivaji had established his Mahratta empire from the neighbourhood of Surat to the country round about Karwar. He made frequent incursions on Bijapur and

Golkonda, encouraged their vassals to rebel against their respective Sultans, and tried to play the part of a Hindu champion against the intolerant Aurangzeb, whilst plundering and collecting chout in all directions, from friends as well as from foes. To crown all, whilst the governments of Bijapur and Golkonda were purchasing the forbearance of the Mughal generals, they sent presents in like manner to Sivaji and other Hindu Rajas, to induce them to make aggressions and raids on the territories of the Mughal.

INDIA IN 1679-81

Fryer returned from Persia to India in 1679, and remained there until 1681, when he finally departed for Europe. By this time political affairs had undergone a significant change, which has already been described in dealing with the reign of Aurangzeb. He declared war to the knife against the Hindu religion, broke down temples and idols, led overwhelming armies against Rajputs and Mahrattas, and finally committed himself to his grand scheme for the suppression of idolatry throughout India, and establishment of the religion of Muhammad from sea to sea.

Fryer left India at the turning-point of Mughal history. After his departure, Aurangzeb conquered Bijapur and Golkonda, and annexed both kingdoms to the Mughal empire; but he wasted the remaining portion of his reign in intermittent and useless wars against the Mahrattas.

CAPTAIN HAMILTON, 1688-1723

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER HAMILTON was a shrewd Scotchman, who carried on a free trade in the eastern seas between 1688 and 1723, in spite of the monopoly of the old East India Company. He was prejudiced against Company's servants at the different English settlements; but his experiences of Sind and Gujarat, and the stories he tells of Mughals and Hindus, may be accepted as trustworthy.

SIND: DANGEROUS BRIGANDS

Sind, on the lower valley of the river Indus, was the most westerly province belonging to the Mughal. It was exposed on one side to the rebel subjects of Persia, and on the other side to the rebel subjects of the Mughal. There was a wretched seaport near the coast, consisting of about a hundred huts built of sticks and mud; but the route northwards to the capital at Tatta was infested by bands of brigands, who concealed themselves in the neighbouring jungles. In 1699 a rich kafilā going to Tatta was attacked and plundered by a large force of these scoundrels, and hundreds of merchants and carriers were slaughtered in the fray.

DEFEAT OF THE BRIGANDS

BY HAMILTON AND HIS SAILORS

Three months afterwards Captain Hamilton arrived at the port with a valuable cargo from the Malabar coast, worth about ten thousand pounds. The Tatta merchants were ready enough to buy, if the goods were safe at Tatta; but they would not risk the carriage through that dangerous country. They might have secured a guard of horsemen from the Nawab of Tatta, but the guards were often in league with the robbers, and shared the spoil. Accordingly, Hamilton determined to carry his commodities to Tatta, accompanied by some of his sailors armed with matchlocks; and, to render himself more secure, he joined a large kafilā going to the same place, escorted by two hundred horsemen. Half-way to Tatta, the scouts brought in the news that the brigands were posted in great force in the neighbouring jungles. Presently a horseman came up brandishing his sword, and threatening to give no quarter unless they all surrendered quietly. The native guard retired to the rear, but one of the sailors shot the horseman dead. Two or three other horsemen appeared, and were shot dead in like manner. By this time the Indian escort recovered heart, and there was a general charge upon the brigands, in which many were killed, and the remainder fled in all directions.

TRIUMPH AT TATTA:

STRANGE FAVOURS GRANTED BY THE NAWAB

The news of this victory was soon carried to Tatta; and the citizens came out with presents of fruit and sweetmeats for Hamilton and his English sailors, who were hailed as deliverers. Quarters were provided for the party in a large house having fifteen rooms and good warehouses. The Nawab of Tatta sent sheep, goats, fowls, and pigeons in abundance. He made Hamilton free of the port, permitting him to land what goods he pleased without the payment of duties. Moreover, he promised to imprison any refractory debtors, and even to sell their wives and children, if Hamilton found any difficulty in getting his money.

GUJARAT: ROBBERS AND PIRATES OF BEYT

Eastward of Sind was the province of Gujarat, which appeared to be peopled with robbers and pirates. The Mughals were powerless to suppress them for their country was protected by marshes and inlets of the sea. The port of Beyt, in particular, was a nest of pirates. No trading was permitted, and the whole population lived by piracy, and gave an asylum

to every robber and outlaw that escaped to their city. They cruised along the Indian Ocean, between the Persian Gulf and Malabar Coast, in small ships mounted with cannon and swarming with fighting men, and attacked every vessel that came in their way. Hamilton had several skirmishes with them, and tells many details of their atrocities. When about to engage in battle they intoxicated themselves with bhang, and let down their long hair as a sign that they neither gave quarter nor accepted it. If a ship surrendered without any fighting the pirates were tolerably civil; but if they encountered any resistance they were cruel and merciless to the last degree. One time they burnt an English ship with all her crew. Another time they beheaded their own admiral for letting a rich prize slip out of his hands.

RAJPUT MERCENARIES HIRED AS GUARDS

Some of the ports of Gujarat carried on trade, but they were obliged to hire bodies of Rajputs to protect them against banditti. The Rajputs employed their swords, like Swamy mercenaries, in behalf of those who gave them the best pay. They carried their women and children with them in every expedition; and if they were repulsed, the wives refused to receive their husbands until the latter had regained their lost honour.

STORY OF A YOGI BURIED ALIVE

Hamilton tells the story of a Yogi who was buried alive at Surat under a promise to reappear at Ahmadabad, about two hundred miles off. The Nawab of Surat suspected some imposition, and set a party of soldiers to watch the miracle. The holy man was duly buried, and a number of reeds were arranged over his head to keep off the mould. The soldiers then persisted in removing a huge water-jar, which a party of Yogis had set up under a neighbouring tree, and discovered a secret passage leading to the grave. The soldiers were so exasperated at the cheat that they drew their swords upon the Yogis, and slew a dozen on the spot, including the man who had been buried.

STORIES OF MUGHAL INDIA

Hamilton relates two anecdotes which furnish glimpses of India in Mughal times. During the wars of Aurangzeb against the Mahrattas, a Mughal force landed on the island of Bombay, and occupied it for more than a year, whilst the English were shut up in Bombay Castle. Another Mughal force drove the Mahrattas out of Karwar; and the Mughal general gave an entertainment to the English gentlemen at the

factory, and burnt down the factory whilst his guests were eating and drinking in his pavilion.

HINDU FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

A story is told of the Raj of Cannanore which illustrates the simplicity of Hindu financial administration. The treasury chest was bored with holes and fastened with four different locks, whilst a key was given to the Raja and to each of the three ministers. All public money was put in through the holes, and none could be taken out except in the presence of the four, and when all were agreed as to the expenditure.

HINDUS AND ENGLISH

The relations between the English and the Hindus were equally peculiar. In one Raj the inmates of an English factory, eighteen in number, were all massacred because one of their bulldogs killed a cow. A story is also told of a queen of Attinga who fell in love with a young Englishman who was sent to her court with a present from the chief of the factory. She pressed him to marry her, but he declined the honour, and could only be persuaded to stay a month or two with her before returning to his duties at the factory.

DEKHAN AND KARNATAKA UNEXPLORED

Hamilton does not furnish any information respecting the state of civilisation on the eastern side of India. Indeed, during the decline of the Mughal empire, the Dekhan and the Karnataka were sealed countries to Europeans. Bengal, however, was well known; and the following data, supplied by Bernier and Robert Orme, will be found to furnish a picture of the country and its inhabitants.

FERTILITY AND CHEAPNESS OF BENGAL

The soil of Bengal was so fertile that the people obtained all the necessaries of life with a less amount of labour than in any other country in the world. Rice, which formed the staple of their food, was often sold on the spot at the rate of two pounds for a farthing. Grains, fruits, vegetables, and the spices used in their cookery, were raised with the utmost ease. Sugar required more careful cultivation, but thrived everywhere. The kine were of a mean race, and gave but little milk, but the defect was made up by the multitude of the animals. Those castes who fed on fish found it swarming in all the streams and ponds in the country; and salt was produced in abundance on the islands near the sea.

CHEAPNESS OF POULTRY AND MEAT

European settlers found Bengal to be equally cheap. Good chickens were to be bought at the rate of twenty for a rupee,

and geese and ducks in like proportion. Sheep and kids were to be had in abundance. Pork was so plentiful that the Portuguese lived on it, and the English and Dutch victualled their ships with it. This cheapness of living, combined with the beauty and good-humour of the women, led to a proverb amongst Europeans that Bengal had a hundred gates open to all comers, and not one by which they could go away.

CLIMATE OF BENGAL

The air of Bengal, however, was not healthy for strangers, especially in those parts which were near the sea. When the English and Dutch first settled there, the mortality was very great. Since then they had prohibited their people from drinking too much punch, and from frequenting the houses of arrack dealers and loose Indian women. Moreover, they had discovered that a little wine of Bordeaux, Canary, or Shiraz, was a marvellous antidote against the badness of the air. Accordingly there had been much less sickness and mortality amongst the European settlers.

NUMBERLESS CANALS AND ISLANDS

The whole length of Bengal from Rajmahal to the sea, a distance of some three hundred miles, was full of little channels extending from either side of the river Ganges for a considerable distance into the country. These channels had been cut out of the river with vast labour at some remote period, for the convenience of transporting commodities; and the water was reckoned by the people of India to be the best in the world. The channels were lined on both sides with well-peopled villages of Hindus; whilst the neighbouring fields bore abundance of rice, sugar, corn, pulse, mustard, sesamum for oil, and small mulberry trees for feeding silkworms. The large number of islands, great and small, that thus lay, as it were, in the midst of the Ganges, imparted an incomparable beauty to the country. They were very fertile, filled with fruit-bearing trees, and interlaced with a thousand little water-channels. Unfortunately many of the islands near the sea had been deserted by the inhabitants on account of the plundering and kidnapping carried on by the Portuguese pirates of Arakan; and since then the islands had been abandoned to tigers, gazelles, hogs, and poultry grown wild.

CHARACTER OF THE BENGALIS

ROBERT ORME, who lived for some years in Bengal about the middle of the eighteenth century, bears unfavourable testimony to the local population. He says that the people of Bengal had become so debased by the langour of the climate through

a long course of generations, that they not only shared the effeminacy of character common to the people of India, but were of weaker frame and more enervated disposition than those of any other province. Bodily strength, courage, and fortitude were unknown; even the labour of the common people was totally devoid of energy. Those, however, of the better castes, who were bred to the details of money and traffic, were most patient and persevering; and it was common to see the accounts of a huckster in his stall, who did not exchange the value of two rupees in the day, as voluminous as the books of a considerable merchant in Europe.

COTTON AND SILK

In spite of the despotism of the government, the province of Bengal was extremely populous; and as comparatively little labour was required for agricultural pursuits, a large number of the inhabitants were at leisure to work at the loom. The consequence was that more cotton and silk were manufactured in Bengal than in three times the same extent of territory in other parts of the Mughal empire.

NIEBUHR'S DESCRIPTION OF BOMBAY, 1763

The best account of Bombay and Surat in the eighteenth century is furnished by KARSTEN NIEBUHR, the father of the historian of Rome.⁶¹ Niebuhr landed at Bombay in 1763, two years after the massacre of the Mahrattas by the Afghans at Paniput. The English settlement was still confined to the island, and all the neighbouring territory on the mainland was held by the Mahrattas. Bombay produced nothing but cocoanuts and rice, and a considerable quantity of salt, which was collected on the shore. The inhabitants were thus obliged to bring their provisions from the continent, or from the large and fertile island of Salsette, near Bombay, which also belonged to the Mahrattas.

CLIMATE OF BOMBAY

The sea-breezes and the frequent rains cooled the atmosphere, and tempered the climate of the island. The air had been

⁶¹ Karsten Niebuhr was born in Hanover in 1733. In 1760, at the age of twenty-seven, he entered the Danish service as lieutenant of Engineers. In 1761, Frederick V., king of Denmark, sent an expedition of savants to explore Egypt, and Niebuhr was attached in the capacity of geographer. Within a year all the members of the expedition died excepting Niebuhr, who did the work by himself, and finally paid a visit to Bombay and Surat. He returned to Europe in 1767. The results of his travels were published at Copenhagen between the years 1772 and 1778; and as his work was thoroughly original, based upon the notes written on the scene of his journeyings, it is still held in high esteem. He died in 1815, at the advanced age of eighty-two.

formerly unhealthy and dangerous, but it had become pure since the English drained the marshes in the city and environs. Many Europeans, however, still died suddenly at Bombay. They were mostly newcomers, who shortened their days by a mode of life unsuitable to the climate, eating great quantities of beef and pork, which were prohibited by Indian laws, and drinking the hot wines of Portugal in the hottest season. Moreover, they persisted in wearing the European dress, which impeded the free circulation of the blood by its ligatures, and rendered the heat more intolerable by confining the limbs. "The Orientals," says Niebuhr, "live to a great age, and are little subject to disease, because they keep the body at ease in wide flowing robes, abstain from animal food and strong liquors, and eat their principal meal in the evening after sundown."

ISLAND AND CITY

The island of Bombay was twenty miles in circumference. The city was only two miles round, and was defended by strong fortifications on the land side, and by an indifferent castle facing the sea. The houses were not flat-roofed, as in other Eastern towns, but were covered with tiles in the European fashion. The English inhabitants had glass windows to their houses, but the natives were content with windows made of small transparent shells.

GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE

The toleration granted to all religions by the English government had rendered the island very populous. The inhabitants were reckoned at 140,000 souls, and had more than doubled during the previous twenty years. The Europeans were but a small fraction of the population; for they did not marry, and consequently did not multiply. The bulk of the inhabitants were Portuguese or Indian Catholics, Hindus, Persians, Muhammadans of different sects, and some Oriental Christians.

DESCRIPTION OF SURAT, 1764

In 1764 Niebuhr made a voyage to Surat. The city belonged to the Mughals, and contained no handsome mosques with towers, such as would have been built by Turks or Arabs. The squares were large and the streets were spacious; but they were unpaved, and the dust was insufferable. Each street had gates of its own, which were shut up in times of turbulence; and disturbances were as common at Surat as at Cairo. The population was estimated by Niebuhr to number 300,000 souls.

HOSPITAL FOR SICK AND MAIMED ANIMALS

There was no hospital for human beings at Surat, but a very

large asylum for sick or maimed animals. Whenever a European turned out an old horse or any other domestic animal, the Hindus took charge of it and placed it in this building, which was full of infirm decrepit cows, sheep, rabbits, hens, pigeons, and other similar creatures. Niebuhr saw a great tortoise, blind and helpless, which he was told was a hundred and thirty-five years of age. The charitable Hindus kept a physician to attend on these animals.

AN ORIENTAL GARDEN

There were numerous gardens in the environs of Surat. Niebuhr describes one which had been formed by one of the later Nawabs of Surat at a cost of fifty thousand pounds sterling. It was very extensive, but there was no regularity in the design, and nothing in the fashion of a European garden except a few ponds and fountains; the rest was a confused medley of buildings and small orchards. There was one large mansion, having baths and saloons, which was adorned with all the magnificence of India. The other buildings were harems for the Nawab's wives; each lady having her own little court entirely separated from those of the others. Every harem had one good apartment for the lady, and a number of very narrow chambers for her slaves. Niebuhr was particularly struck by the passages running between the different suites of rooms; they were so narrow, so winding, and so blocked up by doors, as to reveal the distrust with which all great people in despotic countries regarded every one about them.

COMPARATIVE MERITS OF MUGHAL AND HINDU RULE

The foregoing evidence of European travellers enables us to realise the condition of India before the rise of the British empire, but it will not permit a close comparison to be drawn of the relative merits of Muhammadan and Hindu rule. One traveller alone ventures to offer an opinion upon this vexed question, and his conclusions are entitled to respect; for his experiences were large and varied, and his judgment was unbiassed by any personal considerations. Captain Hamilton roundly asserts that the Hindu people were better contented to live under the Mughal dominion than under their own princes. "The Mughal," he says, "taxes the people gently, and every one knows what he has to pay; but the Hindu Rajas tax at discretion, making their own avarice the standard of equity. Moreover, the Rajas used to pick quarrels with one another on frivolous occasions; and before they could be made friends again, their subjects were forced to open both their

veins and purses to gratify ambition and folly."

CAPTAIN HAWKINS

In 1608 Captain Hawkins went to Surat in the ship "Hector;" he carried a letter from James the First to Jehangir. The Mughals were afraid of the guns of the "Hector;" they were civil to Hawkins. Mukarrab Khan, viceroy of Gujarat, came to Surat and bought many things of Hawkins. The Portuguese at Surat thwarted Hawkins in every possible way. They bribed Mukarrab Khan; they jeered at James the First as a King of fishermen; they scoffed at Great Britain as a contemptible island. They captured an English boat; they did not dare attack the "Hector." In the end Hawkins loaded his ship and sent her back to England. When the "Hector" had gone, Mukarrab Khan refused to pay for the goods he had purchased. At last Hawkins secured an escort to protect him against robbers, and found his way to Agra.

MISSION OF CAPTAIN HAWKINS

Jehangir took a great fancy to Hawkins. He granted every request at once. He would permit the English to set up a factory at Surat; he would protect them against oppressions and exactions. He promoted Hawkins to the rank or command of four hundred horse. He offered a wife to Hawkins; a "white maiden" of the palace, who was to be baptized for the purpose. Hawkins declined the "white maiden;" he married an Armenian lady; he settled at Agra to promote the interest of the English Company. For two years Hawkins was in daily attendance at the palace. He drank with Jehangir in the Ghusal-khana.⁶² He answered a thousand questions about Europe and her princes.⁶³

Hawkins complained to Jehangir of the oppressions of Mukarrab Khan. A host of charges were soon brought against the Gujarat viceroy. He had extorted money; he had committed outrages. He had seized a Hindu girl under pretence of sending her to the Padishah; he had kept her himself. Mukarrab Khan was summoned to Agra; he was "squeezed" in Mughal fashion; all his goods were confiscated. Still Mukarrab Khan bribed freely. In the end he was

⁶² It is a strange feature in Mughal life that the sovereign should hold his evening assemblies in his Ghusal khana, or bath-room. Some one describes the bath itself; it was made of gold and studded with rubies and emeralds. The reference has been mislaid.

⁶³ Father Catrou states that during the reign of Jehangir all the Franks in Agra had access to the palace. The name of Franks includes all Europeans, whatever may be their nation. Jehangir drank all night with the Franks; he delighted in doing so when Musalmans were obliged to fast. If any Musalmans were present they were compelled to drink likewise.

restored to his government; he revenged himself upon Hawkins. He promised to bring rubies from Goa if Jehangir would prohibit the English from trading. Other Amirs joined in the outcry against the English. One declared that if the English got a footing in India they would soon become masters.⁶⁴ Jehangir got alarmed; he withdrew all his promises; he forbade the English to trade in India. In 1611 Hawkins and his wife went away from Agra; the labour of two years had been thrown away.⁶⁵

HAWKINS'S ACCOUNT OF JEhangIR

Hawkins sent home wonderful stories of the Great Mughal. Jehangir had a yearly revenue of fifty millions sterling.⁶⁶ He spent eight thousand pounds a day on himself and women. He had more than twenty millions of treasure at all his great fortresses Agra, Delhi, Lahore, and Ajmir. He had thousands of elephants, horses, camels, mules, antelopes, hawks, pigeons, and singing-birds. He had hundreds of lions, buffaloes, hunting-dogs, and ounces. He could arm twenty-five thousand men at an hour's notice. His nobles could furnish three hundred thousand horsemen at a week's warning. The officers of his court and camp numbered thirty-six thousand. He inherited the wealth of all his nobles. He took a present from every one who came before him. At every new year and at every imperial birthday the nobles strove to outdo each other in the richness of their presents. The viceroys of provinces "squeezed" their subjects to purchase court favour. They were often called to court and "squeezed" in their turn. The Padishah was the sovereign lord of all. His will was law. He was absolute master of all the land in the empire. He could give what he pleased; he could take what he pleased.

⁶⁴ This prophecy will appear extraordinary to those who are not familiar with the current of thought in India. Europeans have always been respected so long as they continue to be Europeans. The ambition of all educated Indians is to appear in public as much as possible like Europeans. These sentiments were just as strong when the Mughals were in the zenith of their power, as they are in the present day. The Amir in Jehangir's court saw that the Englishman was strong and white-complexioned; his fears were shared by his countrymen.

⁶⁵ Hawkins has no further place in history. He joined another merchant adventurer at Cambay. He undertook trading voyages to the Indian Archipelago. He returned to his native land, but died off the coast of Ireland. His Armenian wife married again in England. The best account of Hawkin's career is to be found in Kerr's *Voyages*, vol. viii. Further particulars will be found in Purchas's *Pilgrims*.

⁶⁶ This income must have appeared incredible in Europe. The revenue of England and Scotland was about a million; that of Louis the Fourteenth was about five millions. Further particulars will be found in Thomas's *Essay on the Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire*. London: 1871.

JEHANGIR REMOVES TO AJMIR

After Hawkins's departure Jehangir left Agra. He removed to Ajmir in Rajputana, the half-way house between Delhi and Ujain. His daily life was the same round of court routine; the Jharokha window at day-break and noon; the Durbar court in the afternoon; the Ghusal-khana in the evening. Jehangir was at this time a stout man of forty-five.⁶⁷ He was the sovereign lord of Hindusthan; he was the willing slave of a vicious and vindictive woman named Nur Mahal.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Hawkins was at Agra about 1608-11. Coryat, who was at Agra about 1615, says that Jehangir was fifty-three. There are always contradictory accounts as to the age of a Mughal sovereign.

⁶⁸ See Hawkins in Kerr, vol. viii. Nur Mahal is a heroine in Lalla Rookh. She appears as the Light of the Harem. Moore's poetry is pretty; his oriental characters are Europeans in fancy costume. Nur Mahal signifies the "Light of the Harem." Jehangir afterwards changed her name to Nur Jehan, i.e., the "Light of the World."

Hawkins' description of Jehangir is worth extracting. "Concerning the king's religion and behaviour it is thus. In the morning about break of day, he is at his beads, his face to the westward [i.e. towards Mecca] in a private fair room upon a fair jet stone, having only a Persian lambskin under him. He hath eight chains of beads, every one of which contains four hundred; they are of pearls, diamonds, rubies, emeralds, lignum aloes, eshen [?] and coral. At the upper end of this jet stone are placed the images of Christ and our Lady, graven in stone. He turneth over his beads, and saith so many words, to wit, three thousand two hundred words. [Jehangir refers to these beads in his Autobiography: the words he repeated were different names of God.] He then presenteth himself to the people to receive their salams or good-morrow, for which purpose multitudes resort thither every morning. This done, he sleepeth two hours more, then dineth and passeth his time with his women. At noon he sheweth himself again to the people, sitting till three or four o'clock to view his pastimes by men and beasts, every day sundry kinds. At three o'clock all the nobles in Agra, whom sickness detaineth not, resort to the court; and the king comes forth in open audience, sitting in his seat royal, every man standing in his degree before him: the chief within a red rail, the rest without. This red rail is three steps higher than the place where the rest stand. Men are placed by officers; there are others to keep men in order. In the midst, right before the king, standeth an officer, with his master hang-man, accompanied with forty others of the same profession with hatchets on their shoulders, and others with whips. Here the king heareth causes some hours every day; he then departs to his house of prayer; which ended, four or five sorts of well-dressed meats are brought him, whereof he eats what he likes to stay his stomach, drinking once of his strong drink. After this he comes forth into a private room where none may come, but such as himself nominates. In this place he drinks other five cups, which is the portion that the physicians allow him, and then lays him down to sleep, every man departing home. When he hath slept two hours, they awake him, and bring his supper to him, thrusting it into his mouth, not being able to feed himself. This is about one o'clock at night; and so he sleepeth the rest of the night. In this cup-space he doth many idle things; but nothing without writing be he drunken or sober. For he hath writers by course which write all, not omitting what he doth with his women; to the end that when he dieth, those writings may be brought forth, and thence what is thought fit may be

ROE'S MISSION TO INDIA

In 1615, just ten years after the death of Akbar, Sir Thomas Roe was sent by James the First, King of England, as Lord Ambassador to the Great Mughal. The East India Company had been formed in London in 1599. Sixteen years had passed away, and several English ships had been sent to India, whilst a factory, comprising a warehouse and offices, was established at Surat; a port on the western coast of India, immediately opposite the peninsula of Gujarat, and near the mouth of the river Tapti. Surat belonged to the Great Mughal and was very convenient for trade. One road, available for waggons, ran to Delhi and Agra; another road ran to the city of Ajmir in the heart of Rajputana. Surat was a capital situation for a depot where English goods, such as sword blades, knives, and broad cloth, might be sold to the native merchants, and cargoes of Indian goods, such as silk and cotton, pearls, spices, pepper, and precious stones, might be provided for shipment to England.

But the English merchants could not get on at Surat. The Mughal officials were insolent and grasping. They not only levied Custom duties on all goods landed or shipped at Surat, but the Nawab, or governor of the place, took what he pleased for his own use, and paid for it or not as he thought proper. Heavy transit duties were also exacted on the different roads, and fines were levied without just cause. Moreover, the usages of the Mughals were very different from those of civilised countries. The Padishah inherited the property of all his subjects, and took possession of all ships and cargoes that were wrecked upon his coast. Accordingly, if an Englishman died in Hindusthan, his effects were seized in the name of the Padishah, and if a ship was wrecked it was confiscated in like manner. Many petitions had been sent to the Padishah, but no redress had been obtained; and at last the East India Company sent a Lord Ambassador in the name of the King of England, in the hope that the Great Mughal would pay some attention to the complaints if sent direct from a fellow sovereign.

Sir Thomas Roe was born in Essex in 1658, being the tenth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was educated at Oxford and the Inns of Court; and was familiar with courts inserted in their chronicles. When any poor men come to demand justice of the king, they go to a certain rope fastened to two pillars, near where the king sits; this rope is full of bells plated with gold, and with shaking the rope, the king, hearing the sound, sends to know the cause, and doth justice accordingly." *Purchas's Pilgrimage*, reprinted at Calcutta, 1864.

as well as colleges; with government and diplomacy as well as with history and law. In a word, he was a man of the Elizabethan era; fond of politics, pictures, and plays; and intimate alike with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Chairman of the East India Company.

Sir Thomas Roe sailed from the Downs in February, 1615, and reached Surat the following September. He landed in great state, as befitted a Lord Ambassador. The English ships in the river were decked out with flags and streamers. A hundred sailors were sent to form a guard of honour, and a salute of forty-eight guns was fired in honour of Roe, who was forty-eight years of age. But the Mughal officials at the Custom House were worrying to the last degree, and wanted to search the whole party. Roe insisted on his right of exemption as a foreign ambassador, but he could not prevent them from opening all his boxes, including those which contained the English presents for the Great Mughal. He was, however, provided with a house, and began to make preparations for a journey to the Mughal court, which at this time was at Ajmir, in the heart of Rajputana, about six hundred miles to the north-east of Surat.

But Roe was doomed to troubles. On the day of his landing his English cook got drunk in the shop of an Armenian wine seller, and in this condition met the brother of the Nawab of Surat on horseback, and drew his sword and called out, "Come on, thou heathen dog! The Muhammadan grandee deed not understand English, and asked the man what he was saying. The cook made a slash at him, but was immediately arrested and carried off to prison. Roe wrote a note to the grandee, saying that he would leave the cook to be punished in any way that might be thought proper. The grandee, however, sent the man home without doing him the slightest injury.

Roe was delayed more than a month at Surat. The Mughal officials were to furnish carts for carrying the presents to Ajmir; but they procrastinated. At last carriage was provided, but only as far as Burhanpore, about 250 miles to the east of Surat. But Burhanpore was the head-quarters of the Mughal army of the Dekhan, and Roe was told that he could procure fresh carriage from the general in command.

Roe was fifteen days on the journey to Burhanpur, and was disgusted with the desolate state of the country. The towns and villages were built of mud; there was not a house fit for an Englishman to lodge in, and he and his party were

compelled to sleep at night in their tents. At one place a body of horsemen and musketeers were sent to guard the ambassador and his presents, because of the Rajput brigands in the neighbouring mountains—the subjects of the Rana of Chitor, who was still unconquered by the Mughal. At Burhanpur a Mughal officer, known as the Kotwal, came out to meet him with sixteen horsemen carrying streamers, and conducted him to a house built of stone with an imposing front, but with only four small rooms as hot as ovens, so that the party slept in tents as before.

JEHANGIR THE GREAT MUGHAL

The Great Mughal at this period was Jehangir, the eldest son of Akbar. Before his accession to the throne he was known as Selim; and the loves of Selim and Nur Mahal on the lake of Kashmir are duly celebrated in Moore's poem of "Lalla Rookh." But Moore has toned down the character of Jehangir. He tells us that the lovers became estranged by "a something light as air, a look, a word unkind or wrongly taken;" and tells a pretty story of how they became reconciled at the Feast of Roses.

History tells a different story. Jehangir was a jovial Mughal, fond of strong drink and the flesh of the wild boar. He had several wives and four sons, who will appear hereafter; but he fell in love with a Persian girl named Nur Mahal; and Akbar stopped all scandal by sending the girl to Bengal, where she was married to somebody else. When Akbar was dead, his son Jehangir succeeded to the throne and sent for Nur Mahal. The Mughal governor of Bengal hinted to the husband of Nur Mahal that his wife was wanted, and was promptly stabbed to death for his inconsiderate suggestion. The husband, however, was cut to pieces by the guards, and Nur Mahal was sent to Agra, but declined to speak to Jehangir; and this was the estrangement so delicately mentioned by Thomas Moore.

Ambition, however, got the mastery of the lady's wrath. Nur Mahal forgot her deceased husband, and became the principal queen of Jehangir, whilst her brother, Asaf Khan, was appointed prime minister. Henceforth she was known by the fancy name of Nur Mahal, or the "Light of the Harem," and afterwards as Nur Jehan, or the "Light of the World." She will appear hereafter as a virago, the firebrand of the palace; and in his calmer moments Jehangir had reason to regret the reconciliation at the Feast of Roses; although it must be said to her credit that she did her best to repress his indulgences in strong drink, to which he had always been prone.

Jehangir had left Agra and gone south as far as Ajmir, because he was getting anxious about the Mughal army of the Dekhan. This army had been originally sent to Burhanpur by Akbar, who had planned the conquest of the Muhammadan Sultans of the Dekhan. Jehangir had placed it under the nominal command of his second son Parwiz, and had appointed an experienced general, known as the Khan Khanan, to carry on operations. But the army was doing nothing. The Khan Khanan was being bribed by the Sultans of the Dekhan, who sent him presents of gold and jewels so long as he kept the army quiet at Burhanpur.

PARWIZ AND ROE

When Roe reached Burhanpur the Kotwal told him that Parwiz was curious to see him. Accordingly Roe went to the palace of the prince at the early morning, accompanied by the Kotwal; for he was anxious to learn something of Mughal etiquette, and also to establish an English factory at Burhanpur for the sale of sword blades and scarlet cloth to the Mughal army. A body of horsemen was drawn up outside the gateway waiting for the prince to come out; but Roe passed through the gateway and entered the court-yard of the palace. There he saw Parwiz sitting with great pomp in a gallery overlooking the court-yard; whilst his grandees stood beneath him on a raised platform with their hands joined in the attitude of supplication. The officers in waiting wanted Roe to prostrate himself, but he declined doing so, on the score of being an ambassador. He was allowed to ascend the three steps leading to the platform, and to make his way through the grandees to the gallery, and then he made his bow; but he was refused admittance to the gallery. The prince condescended to return his bow, and to tell him that he was welcome; but he added that neither the Shah of Persia nor the Grand Turk would have been permitted to enter the gallery.

All this, however, was mere Mughal arrogance and bombast, and otherwise Parwiz was very gracious to Roe. He ordered carriage to be supplied for the journey to Ajmir, and granted permission for the establishment of a factory at Burhanpur. He received some presents which Roe laid before him with smiling delight, and was so softened at the sight of a case of cordials that he told Roe to wait a few minutes, and they would have a private talk together in another place. Parwiz then left the gallery, and Roe waited in vain upon the platform. At last Roe was told that he might take his leave and see the prince some other day. It turned out that in the

interval Parwiz had helped himself so freely to the cordials that he was too drunk to see anybody.

That same night Roe was struck down with fever. Nine days afterwards he began his journey to Ajmir, but was still very ill. He stopped, however, at Mandu to visit the ruins, which filled him with wonder and admiration.

ROE VISITS MANDU

Mandu was a city and fortress, which had been built by the old Afghan Sultans of Malwa on the summit of a table mountain of the Vindhya range. It was nearly thirty miles in circumference, and was cut off from the surrounding country by a deep ravine, which, during the rainy season, was filled with water. The only approach to the city was a causeway stretching across the bottom of the ravine, and a narrow path winding up the mural face of the rock. Mandu had been the capital of an Afghan empire in days of yore, and the amours of the Sultans, and their wars with the Rajputs, are to this day lingering in country ballads and traditions. The Afghan empire had been overthrown by Akbar fifty years before Roe's visit, and the city and fortress had been dismantled. But the remains of palaces, colleges, mosques, and tombs, mostly of white marble from the banks of the Narmada, are still standing as relics of the bygone age of Afghan dominion.

Twelve days after leaving Mandu, Roe and his party reached Chitor—the once famous capital of the Ranas. The city was a magnificent ruin. There were a hundred Hindu temples of carved stone, with many towers, domes, and pillars, as well as innumerable houses; but there was not a single inhabitant. The ruins are to be seen to this day, and are striking specimens of ancient Hindu architecture, without any Muhammadan intermixture, and resemble in some respects the old Egyptian style.

UDAI SINGH AND PRATAP SINGH

The Rana, named Udai Singh, had fled from Akbar to the Aravalli mountains and founded the modern city of Udaipur, or "the city of Udai"; but he was now dead, and his son Pratap Singh inherited his title of Rana, and to this day Pratap Singh is the hero of the house of Udaipur. When the Mughal army took the field against him, Pratap Singh was flying from rock to rock on the Aravalli mountains; when the army retired he descended into the plains, and carried death and desolation far and wide, whilst plundering every caravan that attempted to pass between Surat and Agra. His

privations were severe, for his children were often crying for food, but he would not submit to the Mughal, or give him a daughter in marriage and he never forgot Chitor. He vowed that neither himself, nor his children after him, would twist their beards, or sleep in a bed, or eat from gold or silver until they returned to Chitor. The memory of this vow is preserved to this day, for his descendants have never returned to Chitor. The Rana of Udaipur never twists his beard; he sleeps on a bed, but there is a litter of straw below; and he eats from gold and silver, but leaves are always placed beneath the dishes.

TOM CORYAT

At Chitor Roe met with a wandering Englishman named Tom Coryat, who had boasted to his boon companions in a London tavern that he would go to Hindusthan, see the Great Mughal and ride upon an elephant, an animal which in these days had never been seen in Europe since the days when they were paraded in the circus at Rome. Coryat kept his word. He made his way to Jerusalem, and then walked on foot through Turkey in Asia, Persia and Kandahar to the cities of Lahore, Delhi and Agra, where he saw the Emperor Jehangir, and succeeded in riding on an elephant. According to his own account his travelling expenses did not exceed a penny a day; but he seems to have been regarded as a madman, and Muhammadans have a respect for such unfortunate individuals, and give them food as alms. On one occasion, when a holy man cried out "There is but one God and Muhammad is his Prophet," Coryat cried out in the same language, "There is but one God, and Jesus Christ is His Son, and Muhammad is an impostor." Such a proceeding in any other Muhammadan country would have been fatal to the speaker; but Coryat was safe under the tolerant rule of the Mughal, especially as he was thought to be a madman. At Mandu, Coryat took leave of the Ambassador, and went on to Surat, where he died from indulging too freely in sack, which was given to him by the English factors.

Roe reached Ajmir at Christmas, but so ill that he was obliged to keep to his bed. In a few days, however, he was much better, in consequence, probably, of the cold season which was now at its height; and on the 10th of January, 1616, he had his first audience with Jehangir.

DAILY LIFE OF THE GREAT MUGHAL

The daily life of the Great Mughal was spent in a regular routine, and the palaces at Agra and Ajmir were arranged to correspond with it. The palace enclosure was a large area

surrounded on all sides with high walls and fortifications. The lofty gateway in front opened inside upon a court, and at the further end of this court was the hall of audience, or Durbar, which was open to the public. Hard by was a smaller chamber, known as the Ghusal Khana, where the Mughal held evening assemblies; but none were admitted to these assemblies unless they had been specially invited.

The whole of the palace area, beyond the Durbar and Ghusal Khana, was set apart for the Padishah and his wives and their attendants; and no one else, excepting women or eunuchs, or occasionally a prince of the blood, was permitted to enter these sacred precincts. At the back of the palace were gardens and fountains; and at the further end of the gardens was a little pavilion, where the Padishah slept, and a window to this pavilion looked out upon the surrounding country. This window was known as the Jharokha; and here it was that the Emperor Akbar appeared every morning and worshipped the sun, whilst he himself was worshipped by the crowd below. The guards of the palace were composed of Tartar or Calmuk women, armed like Amazons with bows and arrows, and also with swords and daggers. These women had high cheek bones, and eyes very far apart; and were always ugly, and often fierce and terrible. The captain of the Tartar guard was also a woman, and ranked with the Amirs of the empire.

When the Great Mughal awoke in the morning, he appeared at the Jharokha window, and received salaams or petitions, or administered justice, or reviewed the parade of troops and elephants. At nine or ten o'clock he retired within his palace, and took his breakfast and a siesta. At noon he appeared again at the window, and was amused with animal fights, or combats between gladiators and wrestlers, or between men and tigers. Every afternoon about three or four o'clock he appeared in the Durbar hall and took his seat in a gallery. His grandees were stationed below him on a platform three steps from the ground, and were railed off in three sections, according to their rank. At the Durbar the Padishah received strangers of distinction, and transacted business of importance, whilst every thing that was said or done was written down by one or other of the royal scribes. Outside the platform was a miscellaneous crowd of people who formed the general public.

ROE INTRODUCED TO JEHANGIR

In this Durbar hall at four o'clock in the afternoon, Sir Thomas Roe was introduced to Jehangir. He describes the

scene as representing a London theatre, at a time when a play was being acted in the presence of the King. The Great Mughal sat in state in a gallery overlooking the whole. The grandees on the platform beneath him were the actors who played their parts on the stage. The crowd of people outside the platform were the audience or commonalty who looked on.

- Roe had arranged before hand that he would show the same respect to the Padishah as he would to his own sovereign, but that there was to be no prostration. He ascended the three steps to the platform, and was led through the three ranks of grandees, making a reverence at each rail, and at last found himself amongst the Amirs, Rajas, and Ministers of the highest order. Jehangir received him with courtly condescension, referred to the King of England as his royal brother, looked curiously at the letter which Roe had brought from King James, and regarded the presents with a gracious smile. The gifts were not costly; they included a little piano of the period known as a virginal, a rich sword, an embroidered scarf, some knives, and an English coach. The coach was too large to be brought into the hall, and was left in the outer court.

Whenever an Englishman comes in contact with an Oriental prince, there is generally something ludicrous. Jehangir was bothered with the little piano; but a musician in Roe's train played it before the Durbar, and the Great Mughal professed to be highly gratified. He could not see the coach, but he sent some officials to look at it, and describe it to him. He politely asked after Roe's health, offered to send his own physicians to attend him, and advised him to keep within his own house until he was strong. He then dismissed the English ambassador, and Roe went away charmed with his reception.

AN INQUISITIVE MUGHAL

When the Durbar was over, Jehangir ceased to be high and mighty, and became an inquisitive Mughal. He went into the outer court to look at the coach, and got inside, and was drawn about by his servants. In the evening he entertained a party of grandees according to custom; and at ten o'clock at night Roe was roused from his slumbers, and requested to send an English servant to array the Padishah in the scarf and sword. The servant was dispatched, and Jehangir was girt with the scarf and sword in English fashion, and then strutted about and brandished his sword to his own entire satisfaction. He complained, however, of the pooriness of the presents, and said that if the King of England had been a great sovereign, he would at least have sent some precious

stones and pearls.

FAILURE OF ROE'S MISSION

In spite of the reception Roe's mission was a failure. Jehangir would promise anything so long as presents were forthcoming but neither he, nor his ministers, nor his great men, were at all inclined to bind themselves by any treaty. Roe often attended the afternoon Durbar, and was frequently invited to the evening assembly; but he could not get a treaty. Jehangir, however, was always ready for a gossip with the English ambassador. He wanted a horse from England, but was told that such a thing was impossible. An English horse could not be brought overland through Turkey and Persia, because of the wars; and if sent by sea it would certainly perish in the storms off the Cape. Jehangir, however, suggested that if six horses were placed on board a ship, one at least would survive the passage; and that if it arrived in a lean condition, it could be easily fattened after it was landed. Accordingly Roe promised to make a note of the suggestion, and to send it home to the Directors of the East India Company. Jehangir was also a great toper, and generally got drunk at the evening assemblies. He was consequently anxious to know what the English ambassador drank, how much, and how often. He was curious to know all about beer, and he asked if Roe could not brew a cask in India for his especial drinking.

JEHANGIR'S BIRTHDAY

Jehangir's birthday was in September, and was kept in Mughal fashion. The Padishah was weighed in golden scales in the Durbar hall against a variety of good things, including gold and silver coin, all of which were afterwards given to the poor. This ceremony is a curious relic of antiquity. Hindu Rajas are sometimes weighed in like manner, and the good things in the opposite scale are given to the poor, or to the Brahmans. Strange to say, the mother of Thomas a Becket, the martyr of Canterbury, is said to have piously weighed her son in similar fashion, and distributed the good things as alms to the poor.

LAW OF THE GHUSAL KHANA

In the evening there was a lively entertainment in the Ghusal Khana. Although Jehangir was notorious for his drunkenness throughout Hindusthan, it was the law of the Ghusal Khana, probably instituted by Akbar, that no one was to be admitted to the evening assemblies whose breath smelt of wine; and if Jehangir heard that any of his grandees had been drinking, he would order them to be flogged in his own presence, without any regard to rank, or previous services. On certain occasions,

however, Jehangir commanded his guests to drink, and then every one was bound to obey.

ROE'S LADY LOVE

At ten o'clock on the night of the birthday, Roe was roused from his bed to attend the Padishah in the Ghusal Khana; and he was especially requested to bring with him the picture of an English lady, which Jehangir knew that he possessed, but had never seen. This picture was associated with a sweet romance in the life of Roe. He had dearly loved the original, but the lady had been dead several years; yet, although Roe was virging on his fiftieth year, he took her picture out with him to India; and the fact was no doubt communicated to Jehangir by some spy in the ambassador's household.

DRINKING PARTIES

Roe was much nettled at being required to produce the picture of his lady love to the Great Mughal; but he was obliged to obey. He took the picture to the palace, together with two or three others, in the hope of distracting the Padishah's attention. He found Jehangir sitting cross-legged on a little throne, with a table of gold before him, covered with vessels of gold studded with pearls and precious stones, whilst large flagons of different sorts of wine were standing around. The Great Mughal had ordered his grantees to drink, and they were obeying the mandate. Under such circumstances Roe's little ruse proved a failure. Jehangir at once pitched upon the idolised portrait, and admired it with drunken enthusiasm. He insisted upon keeping it, and declared that he should prize it above the richest jewel in his palace; and Roe with a sad heart was compelled to leave the picture of his departed lady love in the possession of the Great Mughal.

By this time Jehangir and his grantees were getting glorious, and Roe was forced to drink to the health of the Padishah, and drown his sorrows in a cup of liquor that made him sneeze, and threw the Padishah into a fit of laughter. Presently Jehangir began to fling new rupees amongst the crowd of natives outside, and then to scatter gold and silver almonds for his grantees to scramble for. The assembly degenerated into a drunken revel, but Roe saw that Asof Khan, the minister, and two or three of the older courtiers, kept aloof from the uproar, and he wisely followed their example. At last Jehangir dropped off into a heavy slumber, and the lights were put out by the order of Nur Mahal, and the whole party had to grope out of the Ghusal Khana, and find their way as best they could to their respective homes.

FLOGGING FOR DRUNKENNESS

A few evenings afterwards there was another scene in the Ghusal Khana, which led to still more unpleasant consequences. An ambassador from the Shah of Persia was amongst the guests, and Jehangir ordered every one to drink wine, but was so drunk at the time that he afterwards forgot that he had given the order; every name, however, was taken down by the court scribes and entered in a register according to custom. Next day at the afternoon Durbar some one alluded to the drinking, and Jehangir threw himself into a rage, and asked who had given the command. No one dared to tell the truth, and Jehangir ordered the register to be brought, and every grandee who had drank to be mercilessly flogged in his presence. These orders were carried out on the spot; the Persian ambassador got off scot free, but some of the grantees were left for dead, whilst many were carried out grievously mangled.

KHAN KHANAN

By this time Jehangir was exasperated beyond all bounds at the inactivity of the army of the Dekhan. He recalled his son Parwiz and sent him to command the army in Bengal. He recalled the Khan Khanan, the real offender, but the Khan Khanan refused to come. This was a serious matter, as it was feared that the Khan Khanan would break out in rebellion. Jehangir thought it best to make a show of reconciliation by sending a dress of honour to the Khan Khanan; but a kinswoman of the refractory general, who was living in the imperial harem, plainly told the Padishah that the Khan Khanan would never wear the dress lest it should have been poisoned. "Twice," she said, "you have given poison to the Khan Khanan, and twice he has escaped by putting it into his bosom instead of swallowing." Jehangir could not deny the charge. Accordingly he sent his third son, Shah Jehan, to Burhanpur, to take the command of the army of the Dekhan, and he determined to follow with all his court as far as Mandu.

SHAH JEHAN

Roe did not like Shah Jehan. This prince was not a toper like his father, but he was proud, jealous and ambitious. All along he had been intriguing to supersede Parwiz and the Khan Khanan. He had married the daughter of Asof Khan, the minister, and this young lady bore a close resemblance to her aunt, Nur Mahal. She was known by the name of Taj Mahal, or the "Crown of the Harem."⁶⁹ She was exceed-

⁶⁹ The correct name of the daughter of Nur Mahal was Mumtaz Mahal, but she was widely known as Taj Mahal, and her tomb at Agra is still known as the Taj, or "Crown."

ingly beautiful and fascinating, but vindictive to the last degree; bigoted to the Muhammadan religion and hating Christians and Rajputs. As long as she was alive, her influence over Shah Jehan was nearly as unbounded as of Nur Mahal over his father Jehangir, although, as in other Muhammadan households, she could not prevent him from marrying other wives.

KHUZRU, JEHANGIR'S SON

All this while the eldest son of Jehangir, named Khuzru, was kept in the background. Khuzru was supposed to be a Christian, and he so far carried his Christianity that he would only marry one wife. He had been the favourite of his grandfather Akbar, and consequently had excited the jealousy of his father Jehangir. At the beginning of the reign he fled to the Punjab in terror for his life, and raised a rebellion; but he was brought back in silver fetters and kept in close confinement in charge of a Raja of Rajputs. His adherents, however, were punished with merciless cruelty—flayed alive, crucified, or trampled to death by elephants, and Khuzru was led amongst the dying men, and forced to hear their cries and witness their agonies.

Shah Jehan was always afraid lest Jehangir should become reconciled to Khuzru. One day when Jehangir was drunk, he was cajoled by Nur Mahal into removing Khuzru from the charge of the Rajput, and placing him in that of Asof Khan. Every one at court expected that the prince would be murdered; but the sister of Khuzru, and other ladies in the imperial harem, raised a terrible outcry, and threatened to kill themselves if anything happened to the prince. Nur Mahal tried to soothe them, but they refused to listen to her. Roe reported these circumstances to England, as a warning against establishing too many factories in the interior. If Khuzru obtained the throne, all would be well; but if Shah Jehan gained the day, the English in India would be in sore peril.

• ROE AT JEHANGIR'S DURBAR

Roe was present at the Durbar when Shah Jehan took leave of his father at Ajmir, preparatory to his going to the Dekhan to take the command of the army. The prince was dressed in cloth of silver, embroidered with pearls and diamonds. When he had made his salaam, he drove away in a coach built on the model of the English coach which had been given to Jehangir; and as he went along he threw handfuls of silver

money amongst the people, corresponding in value to English sixpences.

The following day was fixed for the departure of Jehangir; and Roe went to the palace at early morning, in order to get a sight of the Great Mughal at the Jharokha window. Roe ascended the platform underneath the window where the grandees were standing, and saw that the Padishah was giving and receiving presents. What he gave he let down by a string which ran upon a pulley; and what he received was pulled up in like manner by an old woman who was decked with gimcracks like one of the Hindu idols in a temple. Roe saw also that two of the queens were sitting on one side at a window covered with a matting of reeds, where they were making holes in the matting in order to peep at the English ambassador. They had fair complexions, and glossy black hair; and they glittered with diamonds and pearls. When Roe looked up they retired from the window, but were so merry that he thought they must be laughing at him; as no doubt they were; for the costume of an ambassador in the time of James the First must have been as ridiculous in the eyes of Mughal princesses as that of English gentlemen in the reign of Victoria.

ROYAL PROCESSION

Going into camp was always attended with great pomp and show. The tented pavilions of the Padishah and his grandees were sent on in advance, and pitched at a short distance from the city, so that the first day's march from the palace to the camp was a pageant procession. A vast crowd assembled round the palace to see the Great Mughal take his departure, followed by the ladies of the harem, and accompanied by all the grandees at court. Jehangir appeared in the Durbar hall in travelling bravery. His coat was of cloth of gold. His boots or buskins were embroidered with pearls. His turban was plumed with heron's feathers, and had a ruby as big as a walnut on one side, a large diamond on the other, and an emerald shaped like a heart in the centre. His sash, necklaces, and armlets were radiant with pearls, rubies and diamonds. His sword, buckler, and bow and quiver were richly mounted, and inlaid with precious stones.

Thus accoutred Jehangir descended the Durbar steps and entered his coach, amidst a roar of acclamations from the mob as loud as cannon. The coach was built on the model of the one from England, but it was covered with gold velvet, and the coachman was as gaudy as a play actor. Two attendants on either side carried gold maces, and whisks of white horse

tails to sweep away the flies. Before him went drums, trumpets and other loud music, together with canopies, flags, standards and other imperial insignia. Behind were led horses and golden palanquins, covered with crimson velvet embroidered with pearls, with borders of rubies and emeralds, and long fringes of pearls. Nur Mahal followed in the English coach, but Roe could scarcely recognise it, as the lining had been taken away, and the coach was covered with gold velvet and decorations. The ladies of the harem were mounted on elephants, and peeped through the golden wires of their howdahs like parroquets in gilded cages. The grantees of the court walked on foot. The procession wound up with long lines of elephants covered with costly velvets, and carrying flags of satin and silver.

GREAT MUGHALS' CAMP LIFE

Camp life was an institution with the Great Mughals. Both Akbar and Jehangir were nomads at heart, like their Tartar ancestors, Timur and Chenghiz Khan; and their progresses to remote provinces of the empire was one of the elements of their power. Two sets of tented pavilions were always in use by the Padishah and his grantees, one for the camp during a halt, and one in advance to await the arrival of the camp. A large army accompanied the court to overawe the Rajputs. There was also a miscellaneous following of artisans, dealers, and common people; but these people would not move out of Ajmir, and it was not until Jehangir ordered their huts to be burnt down, that they could be induced to follow the camp.

On the first night of the march Roe was taken aback at the magnificence of the scene. The tented pavilions of the Padishah were set up on the same plan as the imperial palaces at Ajmir and Agra. There was the courtyard leading to the Durbar hall and Ghusal Khana; and beyond these pavilions was the palace proper, including the apartments of the Padishah and his ladies, and the Jharokha window at the back. The whole was surrounded by walls and fortifications, with a lofty gateway in front. But the pavilions and fortifications were all made of canvas stretched upon canes and supported by rods with brass knobs; and all were painted outside of a bright scarlet, which was the imperial colour of the Mughals. Round about, at a respectful distance, were the pavilions of the grantees, painted white, green, and blue; whilst shops were arranged in long streets like the bazaars at Ajmir and Agra. In a word, the Mughal camp was a tented city, and covered an area of twenty miles.

JEHANGIR IN CAMP

The life of Jehangir in camp was not, however, so public as the life in the city. No one was allowed to approach within pistol-shot of the imperial quarters without special invitation. Jehangir showed himself every morning at the Jharokha window, but no one was allowed to speak to him. He rarely held a Durbar, but spent the time in hunting and hawking. No business was transacted except at the evening assemblies in the Ghusal Khana, and by that time Jehangir was generally too drunk to attend to anything.

ROE VISITS SHAH JEHAN

Roe rode on in advance to pay a visit of ceremony to Shah Jehan, but found him somewhat distracted. The prince had just received a visit from Nur Mahal who had given him a cloak embroidered with pearls, diamonds and rubies. Roe fancied there was some love affair between the two, but discovered afterwards that Nur Mahal wished him to marry her only daughter, who had been born before her marriage to Jehangir. Roe also thought that he himself was being treated with disdain, and took his leave in a huff; but Shah Jehan tried to smooth him down by giving him a cloak of cloth of gold. Roe accepted the gift, but he did not relish it. He was required to wear the cloak, and it made him look like an actor on the stage playing the part of Timour the Tartar. Moreover, the porters and other servants were so pressing for money, that he parted with half as much as the cloak was worth before he could get away from the prince's quarters.

Roe's experiences of the march of the Mughal camp were far from favourable. At one place a hundred thieves were executed in the fields. At another place he fell in with a string of camels bringing the heads of three hundred rebels from Kandahar. As the camp moved further south, the route lay through forests and mountains that were haunted by Rajput brigands and outlaws. Sometimes the inhabitants of a town or village would fly away to the jungles in mortal alarm at the approach of the Great Mughal; and on such occasions Jehangir would order the place to be destroyed as a punishment. Indeed, there was often a great scarcity of provisions or water in consequence of such stampedes, and whilst the Padishah and his grandees might be well supplied, the soldiers and poor people were subjected to great privations.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Public affairs were not propitious. Jehangir had been persuaded by Nur Mahal and Asaf Khan, that the news of his

advance towards the south would soon bring the Sultans of the Dekhan to submission. But the Sultans were combining against the Mughal. They packed off all their treasures to a distance, and sent a large army to the frontier, being probably in collusion with the Khan Khanan. Accordingly Shah Jehan took fright, and would not march further south than Mandu; whilst Nur Mahal urged her husband to turn the expedition into a hunting party, and go back to Agra.

Jehangir, however, refused to go back, and said that his honour was at stake. He summoned levies from distant provinces, and sent such large reinforcements to Shah Jehan, that the prince took heart, and began his march to Burhanpur.

About this time Roe fell in with Khuzru, the captive son of Jehangir. When the Padishah left Ajmir he took Khuzru under his protection, and it was thought that he would soon be reconciled to his eldest son. Roe says that Khuzru was a handsome man with a cheerful countenance; but his beard hung down to his waist, as a sign that he was out of favour with his imperial father. Khuzru, however, was so ignorant of public affairs, that to Roe's surprise and disgust, he had not even heard of an English ambassador.

Some months afterwards Khuzru lost all hope of becoming reconciled to his father. Shah Jehan obtained a splendid victory over the Sultans of the Dekhan, and returned in triumph to his father's camp at Mandu, and was soon in greater favour with his father than ever. In reality the victory was a sham. Shah Jehan had come to an understanding with the Khan Khanan, and had married his daughter; and the intriguing old Khan Khanan had given a hint to the Sultans, and thus secured a great show of success for his new son-in-law.

ROE EXASPERATED AGAINST SHAH JEHAN

Meanwhile Roe had been much exasperated against Shah Jehan and his father. He had been expecting a number of chests from Europe, which contained presents for the Great Mughal, and a number of miscellaneous articles, curiosities and rarities, which he purposed to use as occasion required as presents to Nur Mahal and other ladies, as well as to Asaf Khan and other grandees. The chests were all locked and sealed; and Jehangir had given his word of honour that none of them should be stopped or opened, but that all should be made over to Roe. Shah Jehan, however, had stopped the chests, in spite of the Englishmen in charge, and had secretly sent them to Mandu, where Jehangir had opened them and taken whatever pleased his fancy. Roe went one evening to

the Ghusal Khana to complain, but Jehangir was more than half drunk, and would only talk about the laws of Moses and Muhammad, and boast of his friendship for Jews and Christians.

ROE REVENGED

In one way Roe was revenged. Amongst other things, Jehangir had opened a box of pictures, and taken out a painting of a Venus leading a Satyr by the nose. He admired the Venus, who was pretty and white complexioned, but he was sorely troubled at the horns and black complexion of the Satyr. At last he jumped at the conclusion that the picture referred to his domestic relations; that he himself was the Satyr and that Venus was Nur Mahal leading him by the nose. He must have been very angry, but he feigned to accept the picture as a present from Roe, and nothing more was heard of the painting.

Roe resided nearly three years at the court of the Mughal but his mission was a thankless task. The Mughals knew nothing of Europe, but were kept in awe by European ships and guns. On one occasion Roe presented Jehangir with a map of the world on Mercator's projection, but it was returned to him afterwards, as neither Jehangir nor his wisest Mullahs could make anything of it. At last Roe begged that he might be dismissed, with a reply to the letter which he had brought from King James. After a long discussion respecting seals and forms of address, a royal letter was composed, of which the following paragraph will serve as a specimen:

"When your Majesty shall open this letter, let your Royal heart be as fresh as a sweet garden; let all people make reverence at your gate; let your throne be advanced higher amongst the greatest of Kings of the Prophet Jesus; let your Majesty be the greatest of all Monarchs, who may derive their counsel and wisdom from your breast as from a fountain, that the law of the Majesty of Jesus may revive and flourish under your protection. The letters of love and friendship which you sent me, and the presents (tokens of your good affection towards me) I have received by the hands of your ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, who well deserves to be your trusted Servant; delivered to me in an acceptable and happy hour. Upon which mine eyes were so fixed, that I could not easily remove them to any other object, and have accepted them with great joy."

GEMELLI CARERI

ONE OF THE EARLY EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS

GEMELLI CARERI, one of the early European travellers who visited India before the days of the English supremacy, was born at Naples in 1651 and died in 1725. He began his journey round the world, in the course of which he visited India, on June 13th, 1693, and ended it on Dec. 3rd, 1699. Although it was family troubles that drove this Italian doctor in civil law to start on his long journey, he must have had a natural inclination for travelling, as he had already made a tour through Europe in 1683. Before commencing the recital of his travels, he gives his readers some hints as to the various routes to India and as to what the eastern traveller ought to take with him, so that his first chapter might have done very well as an introduction to a seventeenth century Murray's *Handbook to India*. Of the routes to India available in those days he mentions four. The first was to sail round the Cape in a French, English, Dutch or Portuguese East Indiaman. But by this route there was "much danger to life or at least to health in the midst of these horrible tempests and tedious calms, which keep the spirit in continual alarm, while the body is entirely fed on spoiled food, and one drinks no water which is not tainted and full of worms, all which is due to the sojourn of thirty or forty days that the vessel has to make on the Equator. This voyage may cost from 100 to 200 pieces of eight according to the part of the ship in which you have your berth." The second route was to go by Leghorn or Malta to Alexandria, and thence to sail up the Nile to Cairo, and continue the journey in Muhammadan vessels through the Red Sea. The third and commonest route for Europeans was to sail from Leghorn to Alexandretta or Aleppo, and thence proceed to Ispahan by a choice of five caravan routes, all of which, however, were infested with robbers. The fourth and safest route, which Gemelli Careri followed himself and recommended to others, was to go to Constantinople and then on across the Black Sea to Trebizond.

As to the manner of travelling he recommended those going to the East not to provide themselves with large sums of money or letters of credit, but to travel with merchandise. "The traveller thereby provides himself with a natural means of intercourse with all nations, and even the most barbarous welcome a merchant who brings them the comforts of life, and think that in pillaging or ill-treating him they would offend in his person the right of nations and expose themselves to the same treatment in the form of reprisals." The

best merchandise to take to the East would appear at this time to have been the Waterbury watches of the day, and the charms and balms which were the precursors of Holloway's ointment and pills. "One should take these round and long crystals in the shape of an olive made at Venice, because Orientals buy them at a high price to ornament their arms and legs, which they always leave bare. The theriac of Venice is still the most esteemed in the East and at Ispahan. It can easily be bartered for the precious balm of Persia, that is called the balm of the mummy. A large fortune may be gained by making such an exchange with one of the king's eunuchs, for whom it is collected. To make very considerable gain with a small capital and less trouble, it will be necessary to buy at Malta these petrified serpents' tongues and eyes found in the place where St. Paul, according to the common tradition, caused all the venomous animals of the island to assemble and die. They can be bought wholesale at a sou apiece, and in Persia and in India are sold for as much as two crowns, and for much more in China; experience having made plain that the serpents of these countries, however venomous they may be, do no harm to those who wear one of these petrified tongues inside a ring in such a way that the stone touches the flesh. Emeralds sell well, because their colour is extremely pleasing to Muhammadans. Cheap watches are in demand there." The traveller is also recommended to provide himself before starting with a certain amount of medical and surgical skill, including, if possible, the ability to operate on diseased eyes. Provided with such knowledge and a medicine box, the traveller was "esteemed and caressed" everywhere in Turkey, Persia, and India, and had the chance of not merely paying his way, but returning home rich by the exercise of the healing art. After this preliminary discourse on choice of route and equipment, Gemelli Careri proceeds to commence the account of his own journey.

On what he saw and did before he began to travel straight for India we need not dwell. Suffice it to say that he spent some ten months in preliminary travels through Egypt, the Holy Land, and Turkey, before he landed at Trebizond on April 21st, 1694. From Trebizond he went through Asiatic Turkey and Persia, visiting on the way Erzeroum, Kars, Erivan, Ispahan, Shiraz, and finally reaching the Persian Gulf at Bander-Abbas after a land journey of 176 days. On his way through Turkish Asia he met with so much incivility, obstruction, and extortion, that he looked forward to the day when he should cross the border as a release and respite from

his troubles. He tells us that, as soon as he got to the further side of the river that parted the Turkish and Persian Empires, he alighted down from his horse to kiss the Persian soil that he had so long yearned to reach in order that he might be delivered from the frauds of the Turks. Persia, however, though an improvement upon Turkey, was not in every respect a traveller's paradise. The officials and people were more courteous to strangers and unbelievers, the caravanserais were all large and magnificent brick buildings, "so uniform and well proportioned, that they are not inferior to the best structures in Europe," but the Shah's messengers had an unpleasant practice of requisitioning travellers' horses for their own use, and the road police exacted continually small fees for the protection they afforded. It is remarkable that not only in Persia but also in Turkey our traveller, though occasionally threatened, was never actually despoiled by highway robbers. Perhaps the horrible punishments inflicted on thieves were sufficiently strong inducements to limit the dishonest to the safer and more profitable employment of petty extortion. Thus it was that not many adventures of an exciting character were encountered on the way. At Erzeroum, owing to a difference of opinion about paying the duty for a gun, a Turk ran after Gemelli with a knife, and would have stabbed him had he not been cleverly collared by Prescott, an English merchant, who acted as consul in that town. Between Ispahan and Shiraz, one of his travelling companions, the Reverend Father Francis, had to break the head of an obstinate Armenian to settle a disputed charge. But with these exceptions the travellers traversed the whole distance from sea to sea without coming into actual conflict with official or private persons.

Although no sensational adventures are recounted in Gemelli's diary of this journey, it is in other respects full of interest. A traveller through Asia in the seventeenth century was sure to meet strange characters among the religious men and merchants who had left Europe to make their fortunes or preach Christianity in distant countries. Most of his travelling companions were Roman Catholic missionaries. We have seen how one of them gave a specimen of muscular Christianity in a controversy with an Armenian. Another of them was Father Villot, a Lorraine missionary on his way to Erzeroum, who knew the Armenian language perfectly, "and invented a game like that of the goose to make the Armenians remember the divine mysteries, calling it a game of devotion, because the said mysteries were printed on it." The question

of the pay and comfort of missionaries, which has lately been discussed with some violence, seems to have already cropped out in the seventeenth century; for Father Dalmasius, as he toiled up the Armenian hills on foot, exclaimed, "Come hither, gentlemen of the Propaganda, and see what a condition we are in here. Come along you who do not give a penny, and I am satisfied you will give all you are worth to be at home again." Among the secular characters whom Gemelli met on his travels, a good specimen of the baser sort was a Frenchman who turned up at Erzeroum on the 8th of May, and "next day became a Muhammadan, despairing of ever obtaining his pardon for two duels he fought, killing two men in France." He pretended he had been sent by the French King into Turkey as a spy. As a specimen of the more prosperous adventurer let us take James Norghcamer, Agent of the Dutch Company in Ispahan, whom Gemelli found "shooting turtle doves in the garden which was delicious for its fountains and curious rows of trees. After we had drank merrily he showed me a dozen horses and mares, the finest any monarch in the world can be master of, as well for mettle as the curious spots of several colours, not inferior to the finest figure, nor could a painter colour them to more perfection. Thence he led me to see his little house of sport, where he had ten hawks fit for all sorts of birds and beasts, with servants to look to them; a custom they have learnt from the Persians, whose greatest delight this is. He had several pipes of gold and silver set with jewels for those to smoke that came to bear him company by his fish pond. In short, he lived great in all respects."

On his way through Persia, Gemelli had the good fortune to be in Ispahan at the time of the death of Shah, so that he records the funeral ceremonies of one king and the coronation of another. Toward the end of September Shah Sulaiman began to have a continual succession of apoplectic fits, and although he distributed 3,700 tomans among the poor and ordered all prisoners to be released, he died on the 29th. The obsequies were performed on the afternoon of August 1st. "An hundred camels and mules led the way, loaded with sweetmeats, and other provisions to be given on the road to a thousand persons that accompanied the body. Then came the body in a large litter, covered with cloth of gold, and carried by two camels led by the king's steward. On the sides went two servants burning the most precious sweets in two fire-pans of gold, and a multitude of Mullahs saying their prayers in a very noisy manner." In such state, surrounded

by all the great officials on foot and with their garments rent, the dead body of the king went to the tomb of his ancestors, and the peasants on the way were expected not merely to rend their garments, but also to gash their flesh in token of their grief. The coronation of the new king was by no means an equally imposing ceremony. When the day considered auspicious by the astrologers had arrived, "there was heard an ungrateful sound of drums and trumpets playing to Shah Hussain, then seated on the throne, and in this mean manner was the coronation of so great a king solemnised." Five days later Gemelli was at a royal banquet. "First came several sorts of fruit and sweetmeats in golden dishes. Then three great basins of pillau, red, white, and yellow, covered with pullets and other flesh which was distributed in gold plates. I being at the ambassador's table ate no pillau, because I cannot endure butter, and therefore tasted only some fruit seasoned with sugar or vinegar. The king had the same diet on a table covered with cloth of gold." The gold dishes sound grand, but what shall we say of the king's 1,500 horses, "noble creatures with gold troughs before them and great pins of the same metal to tie them by the feet!" At the court were Akbar, son of the Great Mughal, and many ambassadors, including one from the Pope and another from Poland, the latter of whom was trying in vain to rouse the Persians to declare war against Turkey, and so create a diversion in favour of the Eastern European powers then engaged in war with the Ottoman armies. At first it appeared that the new king was something more than an Amurath succeeding an Amurath. Love of drinking had ruined his father in mind and body, and Shah Husain signalled his succession by forbidding the use of wine on pain of death, and breaking all the vessels containing wine in the palace. Two poor wretches caught drinking wine were publicly bastinadoed till their nails dropped off, although they pleaded ignorance of the edict. But the hereditary disposition soon proved too strong for his reforming zeal, and before Gemelli left the country Shah Sasain promised to become as good a toper as his father.

To the antiquarian the most interesting passage in the account of the journey through Persia will be the elaborate description of the palace of Darius at Persepolis, which, owing to the delicacy of the carving and the architectural skill displayed in it, was in Gemelli's opinion such a splendid relic of antiquity, that "there neither is nor ever was a wonder in the world to compare to it." Of more special interest to those of us who live in India is his account of his visit to the Goris,

the Zoroastrians who remained in Persia, refusing either to be converted to Muhammadanism or to leave their native country. They lived in one long street a mile long, adorned with two rows of green cinar trees. It is interesting to compare their manners and customs as they appeared to an observant traveller in 1694, with the manners and customs of the modern Parsis. They are very careful, he tells us, "to kill all unclean creatures, there being a day in the year appointed on which men and women go about the fields killing the frogs. They drink wine and eat swine's flesh, but it must be bred by themselves and not have eaten anything unclean. They abstain but five days in the year from eating flesh, fish, butter, and eggs, and three other days they eat nothing till night. Besides, they have thirty festivals of their saints. When any of them dies, they carry him out of the town or village to a place wall'd in near the mountain. There they tie the dead body standing upright to a pillar (there being many for the purpose) seven spans high; and going to prayers for the soul of the person departed, they stand till the crows come to eat the body; if they begin with the right eye, they bury the body and return home joyfully, looking upon it as a good omen; if they fall upon the left eye, they go away disconsolate, leaving the body unburied." The whole account of the Goris deserves to be examined carefully by the Parsis of to-day, and, if so examined, will be a good test passage by which to form an opinion of the general accuracy or inaccuracy of Gemelli's narrative.

IN THE PERSIAN GULF AND INDIAN OCEAN

It was at Bander Congo that Gemelli Careri first found himself within the sphere of Indian influence. Indeed, Bander Congo might also be regarded as a part of Portuguese India, so great were the powers and privileges granted to the Portuguese in this port. There they received by treaty from the king of Persia a tribute of five horses and eleven hundred tomans a year. There they had their flag flying and exercised jurisdiction over all Christians in the town, and we are even told that their predominance was so great that no Christian could be converted to Muhammadanism there. Indeed, in the words of our author, they had "almost as absolute a command as if they were in Goa, not only over their own subjects, but all Christians who passed that way."

At the time of his arrival the Hindu merchants were adorning their houses inside and out with fine cloth and lamps for the Diwali. They received the stranger hospitably, and after sprinkling him with rose-water entertained him with an exhibition of Indian dancers. This account of what he saw is

interesting as being, perhaps, the first description of an Indian dancing by an European pen, although the performance has been so often described by Western travellers to the East since his time. The dancing women were "clothed some in Persian, others in Indian dress, and sang in both languages. The former had a dress of striped silk which did not reach lower than the calf of the leg and widened below like a petticoat. Underneath they had a long pair of drawers which descended to the instep and were ornamented with a circlet of silver. They had also a large number of gold and silver rings on their toes and fingers which were painted with *imma* or red earth, as also their teeth, the inside of their eyes, and their foreheads were with black earth. They wore a little cap bordered with a band of gauze, half silk and half thread, whence fell their long hair down to their waists. A long yellow and red veil covered their shoulders and came eddying as far as their arms. Besides double earrings they had in the middle of their nostrils a great gold ring, and other pendants fastened or glued to their foreheads. But of all these ornaments the most uncomfortable seemed to me to be a stud gilt or of gold which they passed through and curved part at the top of the nose, which appeared to us Europeans a great deformity. They had a gold carcanet or a collar of pearls, according to their means, and beautiful bracelets. In this dress they began to dance with much gravity to the sound of a drum and of two pieces of metal, together with the bells they had on their feet. Afterwards they excited themselves by a thousand gestures and a thousand immodest postures, cracking their fingers with much grace and from time to time mingling songs with the dance, which pleased me so much that I wished to see them more than once, and others also who danced in a different manner in another house."

While Gemelli Careri was staying at Bander Congo, the town was startled by a characteristic Oriental tragedy. The Persian custom-house officer, being displeased with the conduct of two rich Arab merchants, took advantage of a visit they paid him to poison them with diamond dust, which he put in their cups of coffee. One of them drank the coffee, but the other courteously gave his cup to the uncle of the Persian official. Both of those who drank the poisoned coffee died in agony on the following night. The servant who had prepared the coffee disappeared, and it was said that he had been killed for fear he might reveal his master's crime.

At Bander Congo our traveller was first introduced to the practices of the Hindu religion. While there, he visited under

a great banyan tree two Hindu temples, and saw the Indian settlers on the Persian coast taking their offerings of rice and butter to the silver-headed and silver-footed image of Bhawani. Every morning and evening they went to the seashore to scatter rice on the water for the benefit of the fishers and to bring back water to wash the face and ears of their families. The Indian merchants in Persia made their best profit out of pearls. Gemelli saw them separating the large from the small ones by passing them through copper sieves as if they were making shot. By taking them to Surat they could make thirty per cent. gain, if they managed to smuggle them in without being detected by the custom-house officers there.

In spite of the dances (*nautches*), the shooting and the Roman Catholic services that Gemelli enjoyed at Bander Congo, he was eager to go on to India. His friends, Father Francis and Father Constantine, had taken passages for themselves and for their slaves on an English ship bound for Surat, and wanted him to accompany them. But he would not embark on an English vessel, fearing the rigorous custom-house at Surat and the French who lay in wait for English ships attempting to enter that harbour. So he preferred a Muhammadan ship which was taking to Daman eight horses that the king of Portugal had received as tribute from the king of Persia. Although he got his passage for nothing, he had good reason to repent of his choice before he reached his destination.

He got on board at five o'clock on a Friday night. As ships were not allowed to supply themselves with water at Bander Congo for fear of a water famine there, they touched at Angon, but, finding the cisterns there dry, had to go on two miles further to the island of Kechini, where they took in a supply of brackish water. Gemelli landed on the island to shoot and take notes, and found that the inhabitants knew how to manufacture the dried fish familiar to us under the name of Bombay ducks. "They eat there excellent pilchards, as also in the island of Angon. The people of the country have no better food. They have them dried in the sun and keep them as substitutes for bread during the whole year. Fine pearls are also obtained in these two islands, but the islanders like their pilchards better, as something more sure and easy to fish." On the first of December he sailed past Ormuz. Nothing remained to give evidence of the ancient wealth which won its immortality in Milton's sounding verse. "It grows neither tree nor herb, being all covered with very white salt which causes its barrenness. The water which falls from heaven is the only sweet water to be got for drinking there, and it is

collected in cisterns for the garrison of the fort."

Gemelli evidently kept a diary on his voyage, extracts from which we will endeavour to construct out of his detailed narrative, taking care to add nothing, but abridging and omitting when convenient.

Dec. 4th.—Entered Indian Ocean without losing sight of land. The Moslems continually occupied in rubbing their eyelids with a black drug, good, they say, for the eyes, pulling out with little pincers the hair of their beards where they don't want them to grow again, and covering the nails of their feet and hands with red earth. They are, however, much less insolent in their behaviour to strangers than the Turks. The captain and crew pay me much respect on account of the recommendation of the Superintendent of Bander Congo.

Dec. 7th.—Becalmed before uninhabited islands, used as retreats by corsairs. Excessively hot. Indian winter seems like an Italian summer. The Persians on board early in the morning strip themselves naked and throw plenty of salt water over their heads. At evening a favourable wind took us in sight of the island of Pishini. Our head still to the east, in order that after making the point of Diu we may sail more easily towards Surat and Daman.

Dec. 8th.—False alarm. Vessel coming to meet us. Amused to see the eagerness with which the Moslems take their rusty matchlocks on which they base their hopes of defence, as the ship has only eight cannon, bad and worse served. The ship sheers off, showing a red flag in token of amity.

Dec. 9th.—At day break a ship in the east. The Muhammadans so frightened that, taking their arms, they begin to howl like dogs barking at a distance. They won't get into the skiff to board the vessel, as I advise them to do, offering myself to go with them. Presently the suspicious vessel sails away northwards and puts an end to the cries and fears of the Muhammadans, who thought it was one of the corsairs, called Sangans, inhabiting the isles and marshy places on the continent near Sind and Gujarat.

In the evening a calm. Saw a Terrankin or ship of Kanas. We had some reason to fear that it might take advantage of the darkness of night to surprise us, so I advised the captain to give powder and shot to twenty soldiers who were on board, and to have the artillery loaded and set sentinels; for the Muhammadans travel like brutes without any foresight, waiting for the enemy to be upon them before they distribute ammunition and load.

Dec. 10th.—The terrankin out of sight.

Dec. 11th.—An annoying calm. In the evening a sailor caught a fish weighing five pounds. As it was the first caught on the voyage, the sailors put it up to auction, according to the custom of the Muhammadans, and fastened it to the mast. After a brisk competition a merchant bought it for twenty-two abasis (about six crowns), which were divided among the sailors for a dinner.

Dec. 12th and 13th.—Contrary winds. Changed our course to avoid a boat supposed to be manned by Sangans. At night, real danger in the form of a squall.

Dec. 14th.—Squall worse and wind contrary. The ignorant sailors resolve to return to Kechini, although we see an English vessel keeping steadily on her course. In vain I encouraged them and assured them that the tempest would not last. They would not be persuaded. However, I had prophesied truly: the storm stopped before night, and we returned to our course, the captain swearing that it was for love of me that he turned the ship's head eastward.

Saw for the first time the flying fish. It rises a gun shot above the water and falls back again, its wings being unable to sustain its weight of ten or twelve ounces. It quits its natural element when pursued by the fish called by the Portuguese the abnous. This fish, which eats the others, is blue, of good flavour, and enough for four persons.

Dec. 15th.—A furious wind. We are in danger. A tremendous fall of rain all night, wetting those below as well as those on deck. The Moslem women in the cabin under the poop weep bitterly, while their husbands on deck call upon Mahomed to save them from the death which they think near.

Dec. 16th.—Fine weather again. The sailors think they descry the continent at Giaske which belongs to the Baluchis, and we make for it, but can't regain what we lost the day before. All this was due to the incredible ignorance of the pilot who came at a venture, and at Congo had never been anything but a tobacconist. The captain, who saw the danger to which we were exposed by the pilot's inexperience, addressed a long discourse to me and told me that I ought to take charge of the ship. I excused myself, and told him that the old pilot, after having chewed opium all day to add to the imbecility due to old age, sailed through the night with the two topsails lowered and the head of the ship towards the land, thereby exposing the ship to the danger of running into rocks. If the captain wished to save us from perishing, he must spread all sail and turn the ship's head to sea. He

immediately gave orders to this effect, and prayed me to attend to the compass and watch over the management of the ship, because, in addition to the fact that he no longer had confidence in the ignorant pilot, he believed that I understood navigation and naval charts. As the danger was common, I yielded to the captain's prayer, conducted the working of the ship, and made the soldiers take their arms when any ship appeared in sight. So that on the slightest occasion they immediately call for the *Aga Gemelli*, maintaining that as an European I ought to know everything—so high is the opinion they have of us. Thus they make me play the part both of commander and pilot. However, as I don't know much more than them, all that I do is to guide the ship southward during the day. As sleep is a necessity, at night I leave the direction to the ignorant pilot, who robs us of all the progress made during the day.

Dec. 17th.—The result is that, though we spread five sails and had a good wind, we find ourselves in the same place as we were in eleven days ago. Such are the delays to which those are exposed who embark on Muhammadan vessels. Towards evening we sight some towns in the kingdom of Sind, a province of the Great Mughal.

Dec. 25th.—I have such a quarrel with the pilot, who did not work the ship at all during the night, that I refuse any more to have anything to do with the working of the ship.

Dec. 28th.—At daybreak the ignorant sailors and pilot think they have made out the town and fortress of Diu, which projects into the sea more than any other. On this glad tidings the captain distributes to all the crew, according to the Muhammadan custom, *cacciari*, (khichuri?) which is a mixture of black beans, rice, and lentils. They eat it in Indian fashion, dipping one hand in a plate of melted butter and filling it in another plate with the *cacciari*, which they carry to the mouth by handfuls.

The sailors turn out to have been mistaken. Having recognised their error, they turn the ship's head towards the south for Daman in such a way that the wind, from being contrary, becomes favourable.

Dec. 29th.—I have already said that the pilot understood neither the compass nor charts. This was how it happened that to-day, seeing themselves near land, they all persuaded themselves that it was the village of Maym (Mahim?) near Bassein, a town belonging to the Portuguese, and therefore they had arrived at the end of their voyage. All the crew manifested great joy, and still more the merchants, who believed that they had saved their persons and their goods.

As for the ignorant pilot, proud of having conducted the ship so successfully to India, he went round with a paper in his hand to mark down what the passengers promised him for having shown such diligence. When he came to me, I told him I would give him nothing, because I knew well that the land we saw was not what he thought it was.

Gemelli's suspicions turned out to be well founded. When they landed they found to their alarm that, instead of being at Mahim, they were at Mangalore in Gujarat, 400 miles north-east of Daman. However, after that they got on rather better, and on January 8th, 1695, our traveller found himself, to his great joy, actually anchored off Daman, after a voyage of 1,200 miles, which would have been only half as long if they had had an efficient pilot.

IN PORTUGUESE INDIA

The farther Gemelli was from his native land, the better he was pleased. We have seen how he kissed the Persian soil as soon as he passed the boundary line between the Turkish and Persian Empires. His emotions of delight seem to have been even stronger when he landed at last on the strand of India. "A traveller," he remarks, "who has been long separated from his native land, and who has suffered all kinds of fatigues, does not feel greater joy at returning home and finding himself surrounded by his friends, to whom he tells what he has seen, than that which I felt on arriving at India after a very wearisome voyage. The pleasure belonging to the mere recital of all the precious things produced by this rich country may indicate the great satisfaction I enjoy at this moment, when I am on the point of seeing them and forming an opinion of them for myself."

Daman, the first town in India that he made the acquaintance of, did not fall beneath his expectations. When he landed, he found himself in a very beautiful town built in Italian style and divided by large parallel streets. The houses were tiled, and each was surrounded by its own garden planted with fruit trees. The windows, instead of glass, were fitted with oyster shells so beautifully prepared that they were transparent. Gemelli was very much impressed with the grandeur of the Portuguese in Daman, whether he looked to their tables, their garments, or the number of slaves who carried them about—even the friars—in richly ornamented palanquins. For amusement they indulged in hunting boars, wolves, foxes, hares, and tigers. About tigers and boars Gemelli was told at Daman a strange piece of natural history which we may believe or not, according to the amount of our

credulity. "As the tigers," we read, "are always going on the tracks of the boars, these latter, taught by nature to defend themselves, roll in the mud and then dry themselves in the sun until it has made them a very hard crust. In this way, instead of becoming the prey of their enemies, it often happens that they tear them with their sharp pointed tusks, having the whole time to kill them that the tigers are engaged in digging their claws into this mud to tear it." Gemelli was rather particular about his food, and found nothing very good to eat in Daman, except the bread and the fruits. The beef and pork were bad, and sheep and goats were seldom killed. The necessity of strict abstemiousness was generally recognised. Any intemperance was sure to be punished by terrible attacks of disease, incurable, or that could only be cured by such violent burning of the body that those who recovered bore the scars of the hot iron upon them till their dying day. The dread of these diseases, and, still more, of the remedies, ought to have been a sufficient deterrent from excessive indulgence in the pleasures of the table.

From Daman Gemelli visited Surat, at that time the principal port in India, "all nations in the world trading thither, no ship sailing the Indian Ocean but what puts in there to buy, sell, or load." All its wealth of spices, cottons, silk, gold stuffs, muslins, agates, etc., was defended only by a weak wall, and the streets were narrow, and the houses were made of mud. Gemelli only stayed a few days there, and does not give a detailed description of the city.

The next town he visited was Bassein, still in its glory as a great Indo-European city, although destined to be wrested from the Portuguese forty-three years later, after having been in their possession for more than two centuries. What Gemelli admired most at Bassein was the Cassabo, a great pleasure ground fifteen miles long, full of delightful gardens planted with all kinds of Indian fruit trees, and kept green and fruitful by continual watering: "so that the gentry, allured by the cool and delightful walks, all have their pleasure-houses at Cassabo, to go thither in the hottest weather to take the air and get away from the contagious and pestilential disease called Carazzo that infects all the cities of the northern coast." Our traveller attended a wedding of some people of quantity at Bassein, and, wondering that the bridegroom gave the bride his left hand, was told that such was the Portuguese custom, the idea being to leave the bridegroom's right hand free to defend his bride. Gemelli had himself a tempting offer of marriage at Bassein. He was a Doctor of Civil Law, and

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there was no Portuguese Doctors of Civil Law in India. So, as an inducement to keep him in the country, he was offered as wife a lady with a portion of 20,000 pieces of eight (Rs. 44,000), and was promised legal work that would bring him in 600 pieces of eight (Rs. 1,320) a year. Having no inclination to live in those hot climates, he answered that, though offered 100,000 pieces of eight, he would never be induced to quit Europe forever. Whether the lady was of prepossessing appearance or not is a point upon which our curiosity is not satisfied.

From Bassein Gemelli made an expedition to the Buddhist caves at Kennery, twenty miles from Bombay on the island of Salsette. As neither Tavernier nor any other European traveller had described them before him, he gives a long and elaborate account of their architectural features. We must not expect to get from him valuable historical information about their origin. He lived in an age not famous for minute historical investigation: so, hearing that the construction of the caves was ascribed to Alexander the Great, he accepts the statement with simple faith on account of the "extraordinary and incomparable workmanship, which certainly could be undertaken by none but Alexander." The Greek conqueror seems to have been found as useful in India as the Devil in England, when an author had to be found for great works of unknown origin. Thus the cutting of a way through the rock for the Tanna creek was also attributed to him. No doubt the two conjectures supported each other, and were regarded as conclusive evidence of Alexander's presence as far south as Bassein. So, Gemelli was quite satisfied and did not trouble his head to question the received belief about the construction of the caves, but devoted all his energies to giving a full description of them, which is too long to be here reproduced. Anyone can nowadays visit them from Bombay with very little exertion. Only it is to be hoped that few who visit the caves may have their inner man as ill fortified for the expedition as Gemelli's was. Landing hot and dry on the island of Salsette, he was offered by Father Edward, to whose hospitality he had been recommended, nothing more sustaining than a glass of water and two preserved citron peels, which were so covered with ants that he could only eat one. On the following day, when he was starting early for the caves, the same Father Edward told him the bread was not baked yet, and that he could dine in a village half way. When he got to the village indicated, he found nothing to eat there but a little half-boiled rice and water, so he went on

his way fasting. That he was able on an empty stomach to make such a through investigation of the caves as he did reflects great credit on his energy and perseverance. It is sad to relate that, when he returned to Father Edward's roof after his labours, he fared little better, and "went to bed, quite spent with hunger and weariness, wishing for the next day that he might fly from that wretched place." Perhaps, if Gemelli had been more hospitably treated in Salsette, he might have ventured on to Bombay and told us how it looked in 1695. Unfortunately he did not choose to do so, but went straight back to his friends at Bassein.

Gemelli next visited Goa, the metropolis of Portuguese India. Here he saw most plainly the evidence of the decline of Portuguese power in India, which he attributed chiefly to the hostility of the Dutch, and to the fact that the conquest of Brazil diverted the greater portion of Portuguese energy to the New World. The effect of these causes was visible in the decline of Goa from its former greatness, manifested by the compass of its walls, which extended full four leagues, with good bastions and redoubts, a world too wide for the city of some 20,000 inhabitants that Gemelli visited in 1695. He found its trade declining, and its wealth and grandeur impaired "to such a degree that it was reduced to a miserable condition." The commencement of the decline of Goa was supposed to have been indicated seventy-four years before Gemelli's arrival by a crucifix on a hill in Goa which "was found with its back miraculously turned towards Goa, which city from that time has very much declined." There was another miraculous crucifix in the church of St. Monica's Augustinian nuns, one of whom had died in the monastery "with the reputation of sanctity, she having the signs of our Saviour's wounds found upon her, and on her head, as it were, the goring of thorns, whereof the archbishop took authentic information." But, of course, the greatest object of religious veneration at Goa was the body of St. Francis Xavier at the church of Bon-Jesu. Gemelli, as a great favour, was allowed to view it, although for nine years past the Jesuits had allowed it to be seen only by the Viceroy and some other persons of quality. It was in a crystal coffin, within another of silver, on a pedestal of stone; but they expected a noble tomb of porphyry stone from Florence, ordered to be made by the Great Duke. Gemelli tells us that "since, with the Pope's leave, the saint's arm was cut off, the rest of the body has decayed, as if he had resented it." It was on account of this supposed resentment that the Jesuits were unwilling to show the body to everybody who

wanted to see it.

Of the European nations in India, Gemelli evidently much preferred the Portuguese to the Dutch and English, which preference is natural enough, as he was a zealous Roman Catholic. He specially commends Portuguese politeness. "Courteous," he remarks, "is the Portuguese nation," and elsewhere he speaks of "the Portuguese civility, which in all places I found they practised more towards me than towards their own countrymen." One good story he tells that shows how the Portuguese occasionally abused their knowledge of the ceremonial law of etiquette, and how an Indian prince outwitted them. The son of an Indian king about to visit a Portuguese Governor got an inkling that an attempt would be made to sit upon him by giving him no chair to sit upon: so he gave to two slaves instructions of such a kind that he both avoided the affront and effectually turned the tables on the Portuguese magnate. "Being come into the Governor's room, and seeing no chair brought him, he caused his two slaves to squat down, and sat upon them. The Portuguese admired his ingenuity, and presently ordered chairs to be brought. After the visit the two slaves stayed in the Governor's house, and their master being told of it by the Governor's servants, that he might call them away, he answered he did not use to carry away the chairs he sat on." The Indian prince's ingenuity in converting his slaves into chairs rivals that of the Highland chief who won a bet with an English lord by turning his tall retainers into candlesticks, as related in Scott's *Marquis Montrose*.

A VISIT TO THE GREAT MUGHAL

Gemelli only made one expedition into the interior of India, but what he saw at the end of his short journey is of considerable interest to the historian. He started on March 5th, 1694, from Goa to visit Aurangzeb's camp at Galgala. His journey there and back was very uncomfortable, for he tells us "it is far different travelling through the Mughal's country than through Persia or Turkey, for there are no beasts for carriage to be found, nor caravanserais at convenient distances, nor provisions; and, what is worse, there is no safety from thieves. He, therefore, that has not a horse of his own must mount upon an ox; and besides that inconveniency must carry along with him his provisions and utensils to dress it, rice, pulse, and meal being only to be found in great towns. At night the clear sky will be all a man's covering or else a tree." He acknowledges, however, that these remarks are only applicable to the neighbourhood of Bijapur, which was then the battle-

field of India, and harassed by continual war. In the northern parts of the Empire, near Surat or Ahmedabad, travelling was safer and more comfortable. He started, as we have seen, on March 5th, employing three natives to carry his luggage, whom he kept up to the mark by a liberal use of his cudgel, "because they will never do good service either for fair words or money, but run away as soon as they can, and on the other side when thrashed they load themselves like asses." On the 7th, not far from Portuguese territory, he saw the dismal spectacle of a *sati*. The victim "being come to the place appointed went about undaunted, taking leave of them all; after which she was laid all along with her head on a block in a cottage twelve spans square made of small wood wet with oil, but bound to a stake that she might not run away with the fright of the fire. Lying in this posture, chewing betel, she asked of the standers-by whether they had any business by her to the other world, and having received several gifts and letters from those ignorant people to carry to their dead friends, she wrapped them up in a cloth. This done, the Brahman who had been encouraging her came out of the hut and caused it to be fired, the friends pouring vessels of oil on her that she might be the sooner reduced to ashes and out of pain." Such sights were ordinary incidents of a journey though India two hundred years ago.

In spite of the difficulties and dangers of the journey, which latter must have been considerably enhanced by his practice of breaking idols whenever he thought he could do so unobserved, our traveller managed to reach his destination on March 17th. He was hospitality received by the leading Christians serving in Aurangzeb's army. They told him it was a pleasure and diversion to serve the Great Mughal, because no prince paid his soldiers better, and, if they did not choose to fight and keep guard properly, they were only punished by losing their pay for the day they were convicted of such dereliction of duty. They were also not deprived of the consolations of religion by their bigoted employer. The Roman Catholics in the army had a convenient chapel with mud walls in which two Kanarese priests officiated. The Christian officers were allowed to enforce strict discipline. Gemelli saw two Muhammadans convicted of being drunk bound to a stake and cruelly lashed for their offence by order of a Christian captain, whom they humbly thanked for inflicting upon them such a salutary chastisement. The whole number of the forces in the camp was estimated to amount to 60,000 horse, and a million foot soldiers, for whose baggage

there were 50,000 camels and 3,000 elephants. Taking into account the camp-followers, merchants, artisans and other non-combatants, Gemelli described the whole camp as a "moving city containing five million souls and abounding not only in provisions but in all things that could be desired." We are not told how much space was occupied by this huge assemblage, but everything was on a vast scale. The Emperor's and princes' tents occupied an enclosure three miles in compass, defended by palisades, ditches, and five hundred falconets.

On the 21st of March, Gemelli had the honour of being admitted by the great Emperor to a private audience. The imperial tents were surrounded by an outer or inner court which had to be passed before getting into the presence of the Emperor. In the outer court Gemelli saw kettledrums and other musical instruments, and a gold ball between two gilt hands, which was carried by elephants on the march as the imperial ensign. In the second inner court was the durbar-tent. Passing through this, Gemelli found himself in the presence of the Emperor, who was seated on rich carpets and gold-embroidered cushions. Aurangzeb asked him what country he belonged to, why he had come, and whether he wished to enter the imperial service. To this Gemelli answered full courteously that he had come to the camp "only out of curiosity to see the greatest monarch in Asia, as his majesty was, and the grandeur of his court and army." The Emperor next asked him questions about the war in Hungary between the Turks and the European powers, and then dismissed him, as it was time for the public audience. Gemelli attended the public audience too. The Emperor came in, leaning on a staff forked at the top, and took his seat on a gilt throne. He had a white turban tied with a gold web and ornamented by one very large emerald surrounded by four smaller ones. Two servants warded off the flies with long white horse-tails, and another stood with a green umbrella to protect him against the sun. In person he was "of a low stature, with a large nose, slender, and stooping with age. The whiteness of his round beard was more visible on his olive-coloured skin." Although he was now seventy-eight years old, he endorsed petitions with his own hand, writing without the help of spectacles, and from his cheerful smiles he seemed to take pleasure in his work. While the audience was going on, there was a review of the elephants, that the Emperor might see if the omrahs to whom they were entrusted kept them in good condition. After this the princes of the blood royal, including

the Emperor's great-grandson, came in, clothed in silk vests adorned with precious stones and gold collars. After paying their obeisance by putting their hands to the ground, on their heads, and on their breasts, they sat down on the first floor of the throne on the left. The picture of the old Emperor with a benevolent smile on his countenance, and his children and grand-children clustered round his throne, is delightfully suggestive of domestic felicity. It is a pity to mar it by thinking of the many deeds of blood against his own kindred by which he obtained and established his throne. He knew that it was the hereditary practice of his dynasty for the son to rebel against the father. He therefore blamed the folly of his father, Shah Jehan, who prepared the way for his own overthrow by giving the command of his armies to his sons, although he "might have learnt by many years' experience that the kings of Hindustan, when they grow old, must keep at the head of a powerful army to defend themselves against their sons." Gemelli prophesied that, notwithstanding all his precautions, he would come to no better an end than his predecessors, but history has not verified the prediction.

Next to the Emperor himself, the most interesting person that Gemelli saw at Galgala was Sikandar Adil Shah, the deposed king of Bijapur, who went to the royal tent to pay his respects with a handsome retinue. "He was a sprightly youth, twenty-nine years of age, of a good stature, and olive-coloured complexion." His capital had been taken by the army of Aurangzeb in 1686, and, according to Meadows Taylor, he died in captivity three years after. But Gemelli relates that he saw him alive at Galgala in 1695. King Tanak Shah of Golcondah, who had lost his throne and liberty about a year after the fall of Bijapur, was not with the Emperor at Galgala, but imprisoned in the fortress of Dowlatabad. Gemelli heard interesting details of the fall of Golcondah from European officers in the Mughal army who had taken part in the campaign.

At Galgala Gemelli was unfortunately deserted by his interpreter and other attendants: so he was reduced to the painful necessity of proceeding on his return journey without any servant, and had "to venture all alone through a country infested with robbers and enemies to Christianity." He started on Sunday, March 27th, after first hearing mass at the mud-built chapel in Aurangzeb's camp. He had great difficulty in getting eatable food on the way. On the second day of his journey, he writes: "Desiring a Gentile by signs to make me a cake of bread, the knave, instead of wheaten flour, made it

of *nachini*, which is a black seed that makes a man giddy, and so ill-tasted that a dog would not eat it. Whilst it was hot, necessity made me eat that bread of sorrow; but I could not swallow it cold though I had none for three days." Trees and bushes afforded him shelter by night. On April 2nd he was stopped by Mahrattas, who inquired of him by signs whether he could shoot a musket or cannon. On his replying in the negative they let him go. The hardships he encountered on this journey were so great that when he got back to Goa on April 5th he was very ill. His friends in that city, who had tried to dissuade him from making the expedition into the interior, were not surprised that he returned in such sorry plight. "The Father Prefect, seeing me so sick, told me that had happened because I would not take his advice. I answered '*Heu patior telis vulnera facta meis.*' Both he and Father Hippolitus endeavoured to recover me with good fowls, to which the best sauce was their kindness; and thus I recovered my flitting spirits."

GEMELLI CARERI AND HIS TIMES

We do not propose to follow the footsteps of our seventeenth century globe trotter on the rest of his journey round the world. Naturally our interest in him diminishes when he sails away from the port of Goa to travel farther east. Yet from a more universal point of view his travels are interesting to the end. From Goa he sailed to Macao, on the way passing by the islands of Ceylon and Sumatra and making a short stay at Malacca. From Macao he made a seven months' tour in China, visiting the great cities of Canton, Nanking and Peking, and personally inspecting the Great Wall of China. He was graciously admitted to an interview by the Emperor of China, as he had been in India by the Great Mughal. From China he sailed to Manilla, and then across the Pacific, which he did not find at all pacific, to Acapulco. He stayed nearly eleven months in Mexico, visiting the principal cities, travelling through the country and risking his life in dangerous descents into the bowels of the earth to see the silver mines. In the end of the year 1698 he took ship on board the *Sevilian*, joined the Spanish plate fleet at Havana, and sailed with it across to Cadiz. Finally he concluded, in December 1699, at Naples, his voyage round the world, in which he had spent five years, five months and twenty days of his life.

It does not take so long to get round the world now. Gemelli believed many strange things; but if he had been told that in two hundred years it would be possible to make the circuit of the world in eighty days, he would have been inclined

to laugh in the face of his informant. It took Gemelli more than eighty days to sail across the Atlantic to Cadiz, and his voyage through the Pacific from Manilla to Acapulco extended to over twenty-nine weeks. So that in his time it was not advisable for any one who had not a very large amount of spare time at his disposal to undertake a journey round the world. The account given of the hard and disgusting fare obtainable on this long voyage across the Pacific might be read with advantage by luxurious travellers of the present day, who are ready to grumble if their dinners at sea are not quite such as are supplied by the best hotel on land. Gemelli made arrangements with the boatswain to supply him with food. On flesh days he got "*tassajos fritos*," that is, steaks of beef and buffalo dried in the sun or wind, "which are so hard that it is impossible to eat them without they are first well beaten like stockfish, nor is there any digesting them without the help of a purge." On fish days he had rotten fish and vegetables like kidney beans full of maggots that swam on the top of the broth. The only variety of diet was when they happened to catch sharks. The biscuits were also full of maggots. If such was the diet available for a passenger who could pay for what he wanted, the lot of the poor sailors must have been much worse, cheated as they were of their provisions by the master of the ship. The sailors had to be paid well for undertaking such a voyage, or they would never have been tempted to embark. They got three hundred and fifty pieces of eight (Rs. 770) for the return voyage. The merchants made profits at the rate of 150 to 200 per cent. It was reckoned that the captain of Gemelli's ship would make forty thousand pieces of eight by the voyage and the pilot twenty thousand.

The amusements they had on boardship, besides the shark fishing, were dancing and occasional acting. On December 7th, 1697, although a sailor had died in the morning, the crew celebrated saturnalia like those that used to be, and perhaps are still, indulged in by sailors on the occasion of crossing the line. Mock courts were established to try the officers and passengers. "The clerk read every man's indictment, and then the judges passed sentence of death, which was immediately bought off, with money, chocolate, sugar, biscuit, flesh, sweetmeats, wine, and the like. The best of it was that he who did not pay immediately, or give good security, was laid on with a rope's end at the least sign given by the president." Gemelli was something of a gourmand, so we are not surprised to find that the charge brought against him was eating too much of the fish called *eachorretas*. In spite of

such casual diversions the voyage was terribly long and tedious, and the first signs of approaching land were looked for as eagerly as by Columbus and his sailors when they crossed the Atlantic. When the first seaweed was seen, the sailor who saw it got a chain of gold from the captain and fifty pieces of eight from the passengers. At the same time a bell was rung at the prow, everybody congratulated everybody else to the sound of drums and trumpets, and the *Te Deum* was sung. Nor are these rejoicings wonderful when we consider the length and hardship of the voyage on the one hand, and the great profit expected at the end of the voyage on the other.

On land Gemelli suffered less comfort and incurred less danger than might have been expected. His last days in Europe were spent in chains, into which he had been thrown on suspicion of being a Venetian spy. But in none of the other three Continents did he suffer the indignity of imprisonment. Although he was subject to a great deal of petty extortion, he was never robbed of the bulk of his possessions, which cannot have been small, as he carried with him some merchandise and collected curiosities in the countries he went through. Also he carried with him to the end the MSS. of his travels, which he seems to have written carefully every day. We have seen that he found Persia well supplied with commodious caravanserais. In India he was hospitably entertained in the Portuguese cities as a good Roman Catholic, but fared worse when he penetrated into the interior. In the interior of China travelling was remarkably safe. At intervals of four miles along the canals guards were stationed, armed with firelocks, and they had large boats, with cannons in the prow, ready to pursue robbers. Similar care was taken to defend the roads. He was luxuriously rowed along the canals in boats, and it was "very pleasant travelling, both the green banks appearing as a man lies in his bed." Pheasants and fowls and hares were extremely cheap. At one place he bought four pheasants for two shillings and hares at three halfpence a piece. In Mexico there were travellers' bungalows provided with two servants—one to order the traveller whatever he might require, the other (a messman) to cook his food and supply him with fuel and water, all at the public expense. Gemelli was very particular about his inner man, and informs his readers of the fact as often as he was incommoded by bad or insufficient food. On the whole he seems to have fared pretty well. As to his outer man, we know that on the way through Persia he was clad in buckskin breeches, on which

account his fellow-travellers amused themselves by pretending that he was a wrestler, as the Persian wrestlers wore such garments. When those who saw him thought he was too lean for wrestling, they were told he was grown lean owing to excessive exercise. By the time he reached China his buckskin breeches were presumably worn out, for we find him dressed in Chinese clothes.

What strikes us most, perhaps, when we attempt by the help of Gemelli's travels to estimate the progress made by the world in the last two hundred years, is his great credulity. In this respect there is far less difference between him and Herodotus, who lived more than two thousand years before him, than between him and an ordinary nineteenth century traveller. We have no reason to think that Gemelli was exceptionally credulous for his age. He was an educated man, and as a Doctor of Civil Law must have had some practice in sifting evidence. His frequent criticisms of Tavernier show that he knew well enough that travellers were in danger of being misled by the deceitfulness of their informants or by misunderstanding. Yet he was ready to accept numberless statements that no educated man of the present day would think worthy of a moment's consideration. Many instances of his credulity have already been mentioned incidentally, but plenty more are to be found scattered over his pages. He took away from Egypt a mummy's skull, "being good, as they say, for wounds and some distempers," and this treasure he carried all round the world with him. He thoroughly believed in the active interposition of the devil in the affairs of the world. Seeing some Arabians striking their breasts with iron pins heavy enough to drive through a wall and not hurting themselves, he remarks: "How this came to pass they best know and the devil that teaches them; but this I know, that these cheats and sons of perdition would not suffer another to strike them with the same pin, for then perhaps the charm would have failed them." An Indian tumbler at Bassein performed such wonderful feats as could not be done, Gemelli thought, without some supernatural assistance. Speaking of some of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, he remarks gravely that "the devil appears to some of them because they call upon him in time of need and offer sacrifice to him." He accounts for the number of blind people in Bengal by the custom of exposing infants at night to be pecked at by crows. He accepts with faith the story of an old man at Diu who lived to over 400. "He had changed his teeth three times, and his beard as often grew grey after having been black."

Compared with him, the old lady of 114 in the last American census may hide her diminished head. We have seen the immense estimate Gemelli formed of the number of the Mughal's army at Galgala. Still more astonishing is the population he attributes to the great cities of China, though not without hesitation, on the authority of Roman Catholic missionaries, who estimated the population of Peking at 16,000,000 and of Nanking at 32,000,000! In the Philippine Islands he saw leaves which, "when they come to a certain pitch of ripeness, becoming living creatures with wings, feet and tail, and fly like any bird, though they remain of the same colour as the other leaves." What he saw were, no doubt, specimens of those insects which by the process of natural selection have become almost indistinguishable from their leafy habitat. Among the many wonderful herbs, he mentions a nut which was such an effective antidote against poison that, if you carried it about your person, it not only protected you but hurt your would-be poisoner. "This is so certain," we are told, "that Father Alexius, a Jesuit, having one of these nuts he found accidentally in the garden in his pocket, and an Indian coming to poison him with a blast of venomous herbs, instead of doing the Father harm, he himself dropped down in his sight." Among the evidences of deficient geographical knowledge in Gemelli's travels is a long discussion as to whether California is an island or part of the continent. The belief of a land connection between America and Asia was based on the story of a Christian slave at Peking who said that she had been brought from Mexico to China by way of Great Tartary. Russia and China were still far apart, though not entirely out of communication with one another. Gemelli gives an interesting account of a quarrel between the Chinese and Russians, or Muscovites as he calls them, about the pearl fishery of Lake Nepehyu, and how peace was restored by the good offices of some Jesuit missionaries. The result of the treaty was the arrival at Peking of "the ambassadors from the Great Duke of Muscovy, whom the Emperor received sitting on a throne raised twenty steps above the ground, whither he afterwards made them ascend to drink; and though they at first refused to touch the ground with their heads according to the custom of the country, at last they consented. They much admired to find a Tartar family in such majesty."

THE END

JAMES TALBOYS WHEELER, 1824-1897.

Son of James Luff Wheeler: born December 22, 1824: began as a publisher and bookseller: War Office extra clerk: went to Madras to edit the *Madras Spectator*, 1858: became a Professor in the Madras Presidency College: employed to examine the old Madras records and wrote *Madras in the Olden Times*, 1639-1748, 1860-2: Assistant Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, 1862-70: Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of British Burma, 1870-3: reported on the Government Records: retired, 1891: died January 13, 1897: wrote articles in the *Calcutta Review* and *Asiatic Quarterly Review*: wrote *History of India*, 5 vols, 1867-81; *Summary of Foreign Affairs (India)*, 1864-9; *Early Records of British India*, 1877; *History of the Imperial Assembly at Delhi*, 1877; *India Under British Rule*, 1886; and other works on Indian history.

—BUCKLAND

MICHAEL MACMILLAN, 1853 —

Born January 23, 1853: son of John Macmillan: educated at Rugby, Marlborough and Brazenose College, Oxford: Scholar: 1st Class Moderations, 2nd Class Final Classical School: B.A., 1876: joined the Bombay Education Department, 1878: Professor of English Literature at Elphinstone College, Bombay: Principal, 1900, author of several educational works: *Promotion of General Happiness*, *Tales of Indian Chivalry*, etc. etc.

—Buckland

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